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The Shape of Things

THE DAYS OF THE AXIS IN TUNISIA ARE numbered, but will the number be high or low? The course of the whole 1943 campaign of the United Nations in Europe hangs on the answer General Eisenhower's command is able to give to that question. For it is improbable that any other major operation will be attempted by the Anglo-American forces until this nest of Nazis is cleaned out. Thus every day that the Axis can gain in Africa is a day saved for the strengthening of the European fortress and for preparations for the one last offensive which most military observers expect Hitler to launch this summer. If the battle can be prolonged for weeks, a new and powerful drive against Russia seems likely. But if the Allies can push von Arnim, or whoever now commands the Axis army in Tunisia, into the Mediterranean by mid-May, Hitler may be compelled to concentrate on the defense of his fortress, which then can be threatened from many different points. In the past week the progress of the Allies measured in miles has not been great, but the Axis defenses in the mountains surrounding the Tunis-Bizerte triangle are being steadily ground down. As we write, a great battle is being fought for the key position of Pont du Fahs, to defend which most of the remaining *Panzers* seem to have been concentrated. If the enemy line can be breached at this point, the Allies should be able to swing into the plains before Tunis and turn the left flank of the Axis, against which the British Eighth Army is now pressing. Since Tunis itself does not appear to be an easily defensible position once the outlying mountain wall is pierced, the Axis forces are likely to be crowded into a small area around Bizerte for their final stand.

*

SCORE A BULL'S EYE FOR DOCTOR GOEBBELS. With his tale of 12,000 Polish officers massacred near Smolensk, he has succeeded in snapping the already taut relations between the U. S. S. R. and Poland and producing the first break in the front of the United Nations. Both governments involved reacted blindly to the manipulations of the Wilhelmstrasse. We can understand the anger of the Russians but still regret their adoption of a remedy which plays into the hands of the enemy.

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The suicidal eagerness with which the Poles jumped into the Nazi trap is almost beyond belief. The German report of the alleged atrocity, first broadcast from Berlin on April 12, had all the earmarks of a phony. As William Shirer has pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune*, it started by talking of 3,000 murdered officers, but before the end of the broadcast the total had been hoisted to 10,000. Two days later the German press and radio had added on an extra 2,000 for good measure. Another doubtful point about the tale is the fact that, although the Germans have occupied Smolensk for nearly two years, they have only just turned up this gruesome evidence. The coincidence between their "discovery" and the Russo-Polish friction over the border question is just a little too perfect. Nevertheless, the Polish government quickly seconded a German proposal that the International Red Cross should be asked to investigate and help identify the bodies in the mass grave that is supposed to have been uncovered. Of course, the Nazis can easily produce 12,000 Polish corpses for inspection; their own victims in Poland total more than one hundred times that number. But surprisingly enough the Polish government has not asked the International Red Cross to take this opportunity to investigate German atrocities in Poland. In its agitation about the possible loss of its eastern provinces if the United Nations win the war, the Polish government seems to have forgotten that there will not be any Poland at all if Germany wins and that the best way of promoting a German victory is to split the Allied front.

*

THE SUDDEN WITHDRAWAL FROM HELSINKI of the whole United States legation staff, with the exception of the chargé d'affaires and one clerk, seems to indicate that we are on the eve of a break with Finland. It is true that the State Department, with its usual anxiety not to commit itself, has explained the move as merely "administrative," but the effect of the action is to administer a strong rebuke to the Finnish government. According to some reports, our representatives in Finland recently communicated an informal offer, on behalf of the United States government, to act as go-between in initiating peace negotiations with Russia. The Finnish government is said to have returned an evasive reply and to have consulted the Nazis, who took the occasion to demand that Finland should stop thinking about peace and launch an offensive against the Murmansk Railway—one of the chief routes by which lease-lend supplies reach the Soviets. Whatever the truth of these stories, the fact is that the time has come for Finland to get off the fence. It can no longer hope to continue as a de facto ally of Germany while retaining American friendship as an ace in the hole to be turned up on the day that Germany is defeated. The position of Finland is admittedly desperate. It is dependent on Germany for most of its food supplies, and should it attempt to make a separate peace, it would probably find its allies turning into invaders. But if it wishes to retain any shreds of Western esteem, it must take the risks which many other small countries accepted when they refused to accommodate themselves to Nazi demands.

*

THE NEW TAX BILL REPORTED OUT BY THE House Ways and Means Committee is better designed to appease the vociferous supporters of the Ruml plan than to meet the urgent inflationary crisis facing the country. If 1941 tax rates are applied to 1942 incomes, as suggested by the committee, a large number of taxpayers will escape the necessity of paying anything on their 1942 incomes and a larger group—including most of the so-called middle income groups—will have their tax liability cut by more than half. This may seem unimportant in view of the fact that a similar tax on 1943 incomes is to be collected this year. But in practice what has happened is that the committee has abandoned all plans to increase the 1943 income-tax rates, and the liability of the remaining 1942 tax has been spread over a three-year interval beginning March 15, 1944. The President's urgent request of last January for $16,000,000,000 additional revenue during 1943 to absorb the huge reservoir of war-created excess spending power has been ignored as far as the income-tax payer is concerned. The committee is reported to be considering seeking additional revenue from the lowest income groups through a sales tax. But apparently no effort will be made to collect the whole $16,000,000,000. This, of course, fits in exactly with Republican strategy. While the Republicans would like to go a little farther and get complete forgiveness of the 1942 tax liability, they have apparently already succeeded in their purpose of shifting the burden of taxation from the higher to the lower income groups and in preventing the drafting of dollars on the same basis as men. The price of their success must ultimately be a complete breakdown of the government's anti-inflation program.

*

A STRIKE OF 450,000 BITUMINOUS COAL miners is likely unless the National War Labor Board is more successful than the Conciliation Service in obtaining the agreement of the mine operators to a reasonable basis for compromise. In their desire to destroy John L. Lewis once and for all, the operators seem determined to precipitate a strike which they hope will be broken by the government. Every fair-minded observer has been convinced from the beginning that the miners had a case for increased wages. Several ways of granting their demand without violating the spirit of the President's hold-the-line anti-inflation order have been suggested. All these proposals have been turned down

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by the operators. Lewis is, of course, playing a dangerous and unpatriotic game in defying the WLB; but there can be no doubt that he has the full support of the miners in his action. If Presidential intervention is necessary to settle the dispute, it is to be hoped that it will come before a strike actually gets under way.

*

LIKE AN ALLEY CAT CAMPAIGNING FOR "Union Now" with a canary, Colonel McCormick has taken the stump for "Union Now" with Britain and its dominions. "States Across the Sea" is the theme of the plan put forward in all solemnity by the reformed isolationist, and it envisions six more stars for Old Glory —one each for England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Canada, and one for Australia and New Zealand combined. As the Colonel sees it, the problem is simply one of sovereignty. Naturally we can't surrender any part of ours, he points out, "without repealing the Constitution." Since that is out of the question, all that remains is for Britain and the dominions to surrender theirs. Like all great ideas, the McCormick plan is so simple that its author marvels at the failure of his fellow-internationalists to advance it. "Certainly," he writes, "it is the one that would be most readily acceptable to the American people." Then, with a delicacy of feeling for the *amour propre* of the nations he would entice into statehood, the Colonel suggests what they would gain in acquiring the status of North Dakota. Australia should be delighted because it is "now aware of the inability of the British Empire to furnish protection." The British themselves, aside from gaining access to American manpower and gold reserves, would rid themselves "of the incubus of their nobility and aristocratic system." Other states of Western Europe may also join the union in time, provided they display an "aptitude for constitutional government." We hope the Colonel won't be jolted by the rudeness of the London *Sunday Observer,* which professes to trace the plan back to "The Apple Cart" by Bernard Shaw. And did the *Observer* have to add that "The Apple Cart" was voted "quite good comedy"?

*

THE RECENT VISIT TO MONTEVIDEO OF TWO prominent Spanish Republicans has led to a slight conflict between the Franco administration and the Uruguayan government. Invited by Uruguayan and Spanish liberal groups, Señor Martines Barrio, president of the Spanish Parliament until 1939, and General José Miaja, famous for his defense of Madrid, arrived in the Uruguayan capital to celebrate April 14, anniversary of the Spanish Republic. There were several impressive demonstrations of sympathy for the Republican cause, whereupon the Franco legation presented a protest to the Uruguayan government based on three points: that the "Sodre," the official radio station of Uruguay, had broadcast the speeches of the two Republican leaders; that the president of the Uruguayan House of Representatives, Señor Luis Batlle Berres, was present at the dinner given in their honor; and, finally, that General Miaja had worn the uniform of a full general at some of the ceremonies. The Uruguayan reply was bold and prompt. It said, first, that Uruguay is a democratic country and its government not only has no right to interfere in any manifestation of public opinion but is eager to promote the greatest possible freedom of speech. It pointed out, secondly, that in the case of Señor Batlle Berres, only the Uruguayan Parliament could decide about the use its members made of their special prerogatives—and added, rather ironically, that the government could anticipate the reaction of the House since the House had already officially welcomed the two Republican leaders in a special session held in their honor. It said, thirdly, that in the opinion of the Uruguayan government the uniform worn by an officer who had distinguished himself in the defense of Madrid was as much an honor to the Spanish army as to the Uruguayans who welcomed him.

Roosevelt and Camacho

THE President showed himself at his best when he crossed the border into Monterrey to meet the people of Mexico. If Mexico is a black spot to a handful of oil magnates and to that part of the press which is in the service of big business, every progressive American looks on it as the most socially advanced country of the continent. There are subtle and interesting implications in the fact that the President chose Mexico for his first official visit to Latin America during the war.

Mexico's foreign policy during the past ten years has been exemplary. President Camacho could well say that "Mexico has not had to change her course to be in the forefront of nations fighting Nazi-Fascist world domination." Mexico, in fact, condemned Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Mexico was one of the first to vote sanctions against Italy at the beginning of the attack on Ethiopia. The Mexican delegates walked out of the council room of the League of Nations in protest against the Laval-Hoare move, which by lifting the sanctions delivered a terrible blow to the Geneva institution. Mexico was firm in its policy in regard to Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. It was opposed to the Munich agreement. It was not only firm but splendid in its Spanish policy. Openly and officially supporting the Loyalists in the war, it has never recognized Franco. After having taken some 25,000 refugees from Hitler under its protection, Mexico opened its doors to Spaniards when the problem of the Spanish prisoners in North Africa arose.

Now, Mexico appears at the head of a strong move-

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ment favoring greater Latin American participation in the war as well as in the organization of peace. It believes that more must be done to help the United Nations' effort against fascism. At the same time it believes that the Latin American countries must sit at the peace table with equal rights; that their clamor for social justice and fair international treatment must be taken into consideration. President Roosevelt was very concrete when he said, "We know that the day of the exploitation of the resources of one country for the benefit of any group in another country is definitely over." That statement and his reaffirmation of "unconditional surrender," an answer to the pro-Nazi peace offer of Franco's Foreign Minister, Count Jordana, were the most important points of the President's speech. After the gesture of his appearance in Monterrey, there was nothing more to be said.

The fact that the meeting of the two Presidents on Mexican soil occurred just at the end of Vice-President Wallace's tour through South America is significant. In Buenos Aires, where Wallace's careful avoidance of Argentina was duly noted, President Roosevelt's visit to Mexico has made a deep impression. It has given a weapon to the liberal opposition, which is already taking advantage of the fact that Argentina, despite its stores of meat and grain, has not been invited to the Food Conference at Hot Springs, Virginia. It underlines the unfavorable national consequences of the pro-Nazi policy of the Castillo regime.

But if all this is encouraging, the warning that Manuel Seoane offers elsewhere in this issue must not be forgotten. Referring to the Wallace tour, and to the hopes it has awakened in Latin America, he says very bluntly that should these hopes be extinguished "nothing will restore the mutual confidence" upon which real inter-American cooperation must be based.

Nor can it be forgotten, at this moment of self-congratulation, that certain aspects of our foreign policy are regarded with deep mistrust in Latin America. One of the most unhappy elements in the State Department's international program is its constant self-humiliation before the hated Franco regime. Ambassador Hayes's speech offering El Caudillo the most benevolent treatment after the war has aroused a veritable tempest of indignation in Latin America. We could cite dozens of editorials, articles, and cartoons to illustrate it. The most representative men of Latin American democracy—former presidents and ministers, scientists, writers, and artists—have signed statements denouncing Ambassador Hayes's new version of non-intervention.

President Avila Camacho could have told President Roosevelt many interesting things. We are not sure that he did not. He could have told him, for instance, of the great dinner held in Mexico not many weeks ago, when the Mexican President appeared before 2,000 Spanish refugees gathered in his honor and told them that "aggression began in Spain" and that "you are the only Spain we recognize and esteem." A strong movement for the reestablishment of the Spanish Republic is spreading throughout Latin America. Our Department of State would do well to remember that fact in the prosecution of its inter-American policy.

Great as the resentment may be against the State Department, resentment is even greater against the way the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs approaches the problem of relations between the United States and Latin America. We have heard frequent complaints from important Latin American visitors, some of them in this country on the invitation of Nelson Rockefeller's office. They stress their personal gratitude for the courtesy shown them, but they believe that the policy of the Coordinator's Office, under the guise of cultural activity, actually supports the interests of American companies in Latin America. "The United States," one of these visitors said, "approaches Latin America from the same angle that the British approach India. The Rockefeller committee is transforming itself into the Colonial Office of the United States."

The complaints of our Latin American friends are not all of a general character. They can be quite specific. For instance, they resent the fact that the majority of executive positions in the Coordinator's Office are gradually coming under the control of representatives of American businesses which operate in South America. Another complaint is that Latin Americans working in the office have been relegated to secondary positions; that they are used only for reediting or for Spanish translation. The few advisers who remain, like Maria Rosa Oliver, an Argentine, Rose Ugarte, a Peruvian, and José Antonio Arce, a Bolivian, are constantly sent away from Washington to lecture or to take part in round tables. They are not allowed to exercise effective influence on the work of the Coordinator's Office.

All this resentment, which seems to be well founded, reveals a dangerous American attitude, one in open contradiction to the policy inherent in President Roosevelt's visit to Mexico and Vice-President Wallace's tour. The office of Nelson Rockefeller has successfully struggled to maintain complete control over inter-American affairs. The Office of Strategic Services and the Office of War Information have frequently had to curtail their activities because the Coordinator's Office claimed an infringement of its territory. Perhaps the Coordinator can justify himself by maintaining that he prevents disturbing interference. But he can maintain that position only on condition that his authority is used to promote the cause of the United Nations in Latin America, to secure genuine cooperation between the United Nations and Latin American democracy, and not to promote the interests of big business.

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The Kerr Committee

THE Kerr committee, named by the House of Representatives to check on the Dies committee, has gone beyond the latter in unfairness. In Volume X of the Dies hearings it is stated, "The committee is not charging that government employees affiliated with the League for Peace and Democracy are members of the Communist Party. There is no evidence to this effect." But the Kerr committee, in declaring Goodwin Watson and William E. Dodd unfit for government office, seeks to establish the principle that membership in a so-called "front" organization is proof of subversive activity.

In arriving at this conclusion the Kerr committee tries to give the appearance of relying upon the opinion of the Attorney General. But inquiry at the office of the Attorney General in Washington disclosed that the Department of Justice has never gone beyond the principle that membership in a "front" organization warrants investigation under the Hatch Act barring from government employment persons who believe in the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Mere membership has never been held evidence of subversive activity, since it is well known that most persons in so-called "front" organizations are not members of the Communist Party. The Kerr committee, we are informed by the Attorney General's office, was also wrong in stating that the Washington cooperative bookshop, to which many government employees belong, had been branded a "front" organization by the Attorney General.

The Kerr committee also established another new low in political persecution and unfairness. We agree with Dr. Watson that it "represents the first instance in American history when Congress has held hearings involving the removal of a public official without affording him the usual constitutional safeguards, such as legal counsel, rules of evidence, and the right to summon witnesses." Dr. Watson added that while the committee had asked him to submit samples of his writing, "they did not even wait for the collection of the evidence which they themselves requested." Dodd's "conviction" is a similar combination of star-chamber procedure and "evidence" little better than gossip. The main counts against the son of our former ambassador to Germany were that he gave a cocktail party for Harry Bridges, that he wrote a greeting for the twentieth-anniversary issue of *Soviet Russia Today* in 1937, and that he belonged to the cooperative bookshop and the League for Peace and Democracy. Conduct of this kind, by a committee of Congress, is far more subversive of faith in our institutions than anything any revolutionary could say.

We are glad to hear that the Federal Communications Commission, which employs Watson and Dodd, will take no steps against them but will let Congress assume the responsibility for any action on the basis of this report. The FCC, notably Chairman James L. Fly and Commissioner Clifford J. Durr, has exhibited more courage in such cases than any other agency in Washington. It deserves the full support of the New Deal, which has been entirely too flabby in its relations with such groups as the Dies committee. The definition of "subversive activity" which the Kerr committee lays down will, if established, provide basis for an attack on most New Dealers. For this definition covers even "subtle and indirect" activity designed, in the opinion of the nearest snooper, "to undermine its [the government's] institutions, or to distort its functions, or to impede its projects, or to lessen its efforts, the ultimate aim being to overthrow it all."

We ask members of Congress: Has there ever been a time, since the earliest days of this Republic, when in the heat of political controversy men did not accuse their political opponents of engaging in conduct which would ultimately alter or overturn our system of government? Would there not have been endless civil strife and bloodshed if, instead of preserving freedom of opinion, our fathers had allowed the "ins" to proscribe the "outs" or vice versa on any such flimsy standards? Is it not shameful that as we celebrate the memory of Jefferson, the revolutionist, we permit a committee of Congress to trample under foot the principles of free discussion and fair procedure he did his best to establish?

The Tokyo Raid

A YEAR after the event we have at last learned the full details of the spectacular raid on Tokyo carried out by General Doolittle and his fliers in April, 1942. At first sight it may appear that we paid an extraordinarily heavy price for what the *Herald Tribune* describes as only a "brilliant stunt." All of the sixteen planes participating in the raid were lost except the one that landed in Siberia, and even that one may be grounded for the duration. Yet our losses in personnel were surprisingly small for such an audacious undertaking, and the raid seems to have accomplished results, quite aside from the actual damage inflicted, that may have an important bearing on the course of the war.

We can assume that the material damage wrought by the bombings was considerable although not decisive. All the bombs appear to have fallen on important military objectives, but the bombs were not heavy ones and the objectives were widely dispersed. The damage was probably more serious than a similar bombing of German war plants because Japan's recuperative power is undoubtedly lower than Germany's. It is fairly clear, however, that the bombings had a deleterious effect on Japanese morale. There was every evidence of panic in the early stories broadcast by the Tokyo radio, and there is good reason to believe that the Japanese High

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Command was forced to shift a large portion of its limited supply of fighter planes and anti-aircraft guns to the defense of the home base. We do not know the degree to which this may have upset the Japanese military time-table, but it is significant that the Tokyo raid came at the high-water mark of Japanese expansion. From that time until a few weeks ago the Japanese have never enjoyed aerial superiority on an important battle front.

The violence of the Japanese reaction to the raid is perhaps the best evidence we have of its success. After recovering from its bewilderment, the High Command's first action was to order a large-scale and costly drive against the section of China where it believed the raid had originated. Although the Japanese at first captured the airfields, they were ultimately driven back with heavy losses. Possibly because of their failure to retain control of these fields, from which future bombing operations might be conducted, they resorted, a few weeks later, to the extreme measure of executing some of the captured American airmen as "punishment" for the raid on Tokyo. The hypocrisy of this action beggars description. It was the Japanese who first introduced into modern warfare the ghastly practice of indiscriminate mass bombing of civilian populations. Their attacks on the helpless inhabitants of Canton in 1938, and on those of Chungking and Yunnanfu in the following years, still stand as the most destructive of human life of any air raids in history. There was no pretense that these raids were against military objectives. They were launched against defenseless cities solely for the purpose of terrifying the population into giving up. Our raid on Japan, on the other hand, was in no sense indiscriminate and was undertaken with purely military objectives. The fact that the Japanese have now committed the further barbarity of killing prisoners of war in direct contravention of international law can only increase the determination of every American to see Japan thoroughly and completely defeated.

Blind Date with Clio

THE New York *Times,* in conjunction with the Committee on American History, recently arranged a blind date with Clio for 7,000 undergraduates. Socially the occasion proved a colossal flop, for it seemed to show that the younger generation of Americans had a very slight acquaintance with the muse and no desire to improve it. The trouble, according to Hugh Russell Fraser, chairman of the Committee on American History, is that they have been taught the wrong approach. They have been encouraged to sidle up to the lady casually instead of advancing upon her in well-drilled chronological order; they have been introduced to her in company with ladies of less respectable lineage instead of being allowed to court her in decent privacy; and they have come away with only a very foggy idea of her figure and features.

In our letter pages this week Mr. Fraser pins the responsibility for this state of affairs on the Teachers College methods and at the same time voices a grievance against I. F. Stone, who in *The Nation* of April 17 damned the New York *Times* history test as an attempt to divert attention from the federal Aid-to-Education bill and lumped Mr. Fraser with the reactionaries. We, of course, accept Mr. Fraser's assertion that he is a progressive, but we must point out that his attacks on the men who have been endeavoring to teach history with some social content play into the hands of the tories and ultra-nationalists. There are all too many people who believe that memorizing facts is the equivalent of receiving an education and who are ready to seize on any argument for a return to "the good old methods."

The results of the *Times* survey, which is the basis of Mr. Fraser's wholesale attack on history teaching in American schools, would, if taken at their face value, suggest that something is very wrong indeed. But as an attempt to assay the quality of particular methods of history instruction the tests lacked scientific precision. No attempt was made to classify the students taking the examination into two groups—those taught on chronological lines and those subjected to the Teachers College "social studies" method. Mr. Fraser has admitted (in *PM*) that he has no idea how the students were, in fact, taught, but he had no difficulty in concluding that the ignorance they displayed was the result of a form of instruction which he condemns.

Again, there is good reason to believe that a considerable number of the students tested did not take the examination seriously. The fact that 1,500 out of 7,000 students called upon to name three famous railroad men wrote down "Casey Jones" may serve as a criterion of collegiate humor; it hardly permits generalizations about collegiate knowledge of American history. Moreover, as such flippancies remind us, the students taking the tests were aware that no credits were involved.

Here is a really significant fact which may help us to put a finger on one of the major weaknesses of American education—the emphasis on utilitarian standards. Whatever method they employ, teachers of history and other cultural subjects are persistently handicapped by the implications of such questions as, What's the use of it? Will it help me in getting a job? How many credits will it give me? We cannot blame students for taking this attitude, for it is simply a reflection of a social system which considers a good football coach to be worth far more than a good history professor. As long as this scale of values persists, Terpsichore is the only one of the muses likely to make much of a hit with the younger generation as a whole.

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Findings on Bolivia

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 23

I HOPE I will not be thought too unkind if I suggest that the long-awaited report on Bolivia makes me think of a physician who advises an underpaid sick worker to drink three quarts of milk a day and spend his winters in Florida. No humane person will dispute the recommendations turned in by the Joint United States Bolivian Commission. Their findings, all things considered, are courageous; their proposals, progressive. If adopted, these proposals would give Bolivia a modern system of education, strong trade unions, good housing, a complete system of social insurance, and scientific (no less) nutrition. But these things, as is well known, cost money, and more revenue can be obtained only from the great companies which exploit Bolivia's natural riches and from the governments at present buying their products. This means principally the United States.

The American delegation, under Judge Calvert Magruder of the United States Circuit Court, was progressive and included representatives of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. But it was hampered by its instructions from the State Department and was bound in advance to turn in a unanimous report. On the basic question of obtaining more revenue for social welfare, the rule of unanimity was nevertheless broken by the Bolivians, leaving the Americans in an unhappy position. In the Addenda the Bolivian members point out that the solution of the country's social problems depends "on a sound economic base" and suggest that the first step would be a better price for Bolivian raw materials. The American delegation no doubt agreed but was forced to reply that it had been instructed in advance "not to deal with the question of the adequacy of present mineral or rubber prices." These Addenda cause the report to end with an anticlimactic *umph*.

The Bolivian contingent on the commission was headed by the Minister of Labor, His Excellency, as he is described, Dr. Juan Manuel Balcázar. By some technicality Dr. Balcázar managed, despite the unanimity rule, to avoid signing the report. His principal contribution seems to have been a last-minute proposal for an increase in the price of tin, and his reluctance to sign the report is understandable in view of the quiet severity with which it criticizes the enforcement of the labor laws of Bolivia. Since the four other Bolivian members are government officials, their participation in these criticisms was courageous and commendable. By contrast, the American delegation was ignominiously, though reluctantly, silent where it might have been similarly critical of some agencies of our own government and their representatives in Bolivia.

While the Bolivian members joined in describing the contrast between the advanced laws on the statute books of their country and the backward conditions in its mines, workshops, and plantations, they relapsed at the end into an expression of the very thesis put forward in Washington by the tin kings. They expressed "the conviction that a better price for Bolivia's raw-material exports would automatically lead to an improvement in the living conditions of the working classes. . . ." This is also the thesis of those who, like the dominant faction in the State Department, Jesse Jones, and most of the business men at the BEW, oppose the inclusion of labor clauses in supply contracts. These clauses, which have the support of both Vice-President Wallace and Milo Perkins, would make sure that additional funds made available by the American government for mining and other enterprises go directly toward raising the living standards of their workers.

The report itself presents evidence which refutes the view that higher prices "would automatically" improve the condition of the workers. "So far," the report says, "it appears that the rubber workers have derived little or no benefit from the increased price of rubber due to the war boom." There is also a war boom for tin, tungsten, and antimony; yet the report informs us that "real wages of mine workers have declined in spite of substantial increases of cash wages." Had the commission not been fettered by the unanimity rule, some members at least might have developed the further crucial point that mere increases in price will also fail to increase production "automatically." But this would run directly athwart the philosophy of the tin kings and their friends in the RFC and the State Department.

The close relationship between greater productivity and better working conditions is, indeed, implicit on virtually every page of the report. "Mines are clamoring for additional labor"; yet "there is not a single safety engineer employed in all Bolivia." During the past seven years one worker out of five has been temporarily or permanently incapacitated—7,000 a year permanently "with a loss of 60,000 work shifts." Occupational diseases, primarily silicosis and tuberculosis, end the working careers of from 8 to 9 per cent of the miners annually. Though a law passed in 1920 requires every mine company with 500 or more workers to maintain a hospital,

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only ten do so, and in the country as a whole there is only one hospital bed for every thousand persons. Malnutrition and undernourishment reduce the Bolivian worker's output, and many substitute the narcotic coca leaf for the food they find it hard to get. At least 75 per cent of the population is illiterate.

These conditions, plus the severe restrictions on collective bargaining, are hardly calculated to put Bolivia's workers in the proper frame of mind to turn out more of the metals and rubber we need so desperately in our war effort. We who speak with such superiority of slave labor in the Nazi economy cannot fail to recognize that decent treatment of workers is the first step to better output and to better hemispheric cooperation. Much that is good in the report may be overlooked by critics because the commission was forced, between the pressures of the State Department and the Bolivian government, to make no mention of the recent "Nazi-inspired" strike in the tin mines. Thus it was required to skirt the actual reason for its appointment. Messrs. Patino, Aramayo, and Hochschild must be gratified by the gaping hiatus where one would expect an investigation and an account of the strike and its causes.

More serious even than this omission is the fact that the Bolivian Minister of Labor succeeded in preventing the commission from talking with leaders of the strike, who are still in jail. At least two members of the American group, Robert E. Mathews of the BEW and Martin C. Kyne of the United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees of America, tried until the very last to see these labor leaders, but without success. So long as these men remain in jail, the commission's report will earn less credit than it deserves. Nor can much improvement be expected without pressure for the recall from La Paz of our anti-labor ambassador, Pierre de Lagarde Boal, and a change in the dominant policy at the State Department and the RFC. It is up to the American labor movement to work for the release of the strike leaders and to support the fight for labor clauses in the contracts for Bolivian metal and rubber.

I am happy to report that Ernesto Galarza, Mexican-born chief of the Division of Labor and Social Information of the Pan-American Union, who started the battle to help Bolivian labor, has been reinstated in his job. Chief credit for this goes to Dr. Leo S. Rowe, head of the Pan-American Union.

The Battle of MacArthur

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE recent airing of conflicting opinions regarding our policy in the Southwest Pacific merely opens an old sore that has existed under cover since the early days of the war. Though certain important matters of strategy were long ago settled in Washington, the decisions have never been accepted in some quarters. The contradictory statements recently issued by General MacArthur and Secretary Knox about the imminence of a Japanese offensive in the Pacific, the divergent assertions of such high officials as Admiral Halsey and Elmer Davis of the OWI, and the general disagreement between Halsey and MacArthur regarding the entire war outlook are symptoms of conflict so basic that it is bound to hinder the efficient prosecution of the war.

After Pearl Harbor the President and his advisers were confronted with the choice of concentrating our energies against either Germany or Japan. Among those in favor of bending every effort to beat Japan first were most American naval officers, a faction in the army which realized it was not then in condition to tackle Hitler, many Americans whose thought processes had been affected by Pearl Harbor, and most of the ex-isolationists. The same opinion was held by the British Dominions of New Zealand and Australia, China, and of course the Philippines, whose most popular and influential spokesman was General MacArthur. Balancing the calls for a Pacific offensive were the cries from occupied Europe, the established war needs of the British and the Soviets, and the unquestionably greater military and industrial might of Nazi Germany.

It is doubtful whether a more difficult choice ever faced a commander-in-chief. Neglect of either enemy while energies were concentrated exclusively on the other could easily mean that the one overlooked might extend its conquests so greatly as to be unbeatable at a later date. On the other hand, if we divided our strength equally, we should probably be unable to bring a large enough concentration against either antagonist to defeat it. In short, any choice had to be made with the knowledge that it might later prove to be the wrong one.

The announced decision to "beat Hitler first," whether wise or foolish, settled only the most fundamental of our military problems. In Europe we appear to have a definite military policy which is being steadily implemented by ever-increasing force, but in the Pacific the few steps we have taken give no sign of having behind them a well-thought-out strategy. "Hold the line and wait for the breaks" about sums up the situation.

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The logical corollary to the decision to concentrate our force against Germany is the employment of enough strength in the Pacific to prevent Japan from organizing attempts at further conquests and to compel it to expend large amounts of material in holding its gains. That we have recently been able to keep it in check is due mainly to the fine quality of our men and material. Our raids have not been followed by positive action, and nine months have elapsed since we opened the Solomons campaign without our making a single further move. Meanwhile the Japanese have had plenty of time to perfect their defenses.

The position of MacArthur in Australia is one of especial futility. After his retirement from the Philippines he issued a press statement to the effect that he understood his removal was for the purpose of organizing a relief expedition to expel the invader from the islands which had played so large a part in his own and his father's life. Whether any communication from Washington justified this expectation is a question which we are naturally not in a position to answer.

Geography emphatically did not justify it. Without major bases in the north, adequate interior communications, or sufficient industrial resources to support a major offensive by itself, Australia, situated as it is at the end of fantastically long lines of communication and distant also from Japan itself, seems cut out to be a military backwater. It is strategically vital only to Australians, and the decision to dispatch major aid there rather than to China, whatever its sentimental justification, was highly unsound. The launching of a full-scale offensive from so unfavorable an initial position would require a far larger expenditure of war materials, especially of shipping, than is consistent with our declared purpose of beating Hitler first. While there may come a day when even the unfavorably situated Australian base can support a campaign which will ultimately reach Tokyo, no such attempt could be made at present without a disastrous revamping of our entire war strategy.

The facts of geography and the chosen strategy rather than any sinister plot are what confines MacArthur to nibbling at the fringes of the Japanese conquests. In this undramatic role he has performed brilliantly considering the limited forces at his disposal. His handling of air power in particular has done much to redeem our earlier sorry record in the Philippines. The substantial gains achieved under difficult circumstances are peculiarly MacArthur's, and they have justly earned him the reputation of being our ablest general. It is probably inevitable that so able and self-conscious a man should be disappointed at not being able to carry out his dream. But use of the anniversary of Bataan to express this chagrin was in questionable taste.

Far worse are the crocodile tears now being shed by certain portions of the American press over the alleged neglect of MacArthur and his plans. We are glibly told by some that the dispatch of 1,000 planes would enable him to carry his campaign to Tokyo itself. A more ridiculous misreading of the lessons of the Pacific war would be hard to imagine. Here as elsewhere, air, sea, and land branches are interdependent, and the winning of new territory depends on the harmonious working together of all three, not on solo performance by any one.

If we changed our whole future policy as some of the more lurid newspapers would have us do, we should be forced to abandon the plan of knocking out Hitler first just as the possibilities were beginning to shape up favorably, and turn to supplying the materials for a Pacific offensive. Our preliminary work in Europe would then be largely wasted. Furthermore, we should be substituting the views of one commander in a specific area, who may be "playing the old army game" of spreading scare stories to get more men and weapons, for those of a group of persons having a more detached position and more comprehensive knowledge of all factors involved in our global war. This would be sheer military lunacy. The very nature of military organization necessitates compliance all down the line with the decisions made at the top, and in this respect General MacArthur's position is no different from that of the newest buck private.

It is quite possible, of course, that the recent scare stories issuing from Australia but denied by the navy have already served a useful purpose. One of the essentials of our war in the Pacific is that we hold Japanese conquests within their present limits. In the island-studded seas above Australia this can be done most easily through air power. Our present aerial margin, based on enormously better pilots and planes, must not be allowed to lapse, and the reinforcement of our air squadrons, promised by Stimson, is about the cheapest type of military insurance available.

But conflicting statements by responsible officials are in themselves serious in a country supposedly united in the cause of total war. Not only do they tend to accentuate whatever inter-service squabbles exist at the moment, but they give the public a confused and distorted picture which is no aid to national morale.

The differences between the services shown in their public utterances also exist in the field of command, though the situation here has been greatly improved since the outbreak of war. The arbitrary line which separates the domain of Admiral Nimitz in the South Pacific from that of General MacArthur in Australia and which originally cut directly through Guadalcanal Island is no promoter of military efficiency. The generals and admirals in the area are said to have worked well together, but cooperation is a poor second choice compared with a unified command. This we have not as yet achieved, though it would have lessened the difficulties encountered by the navy at Guadalcanal and by MacArthur in New Guinea.

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For success in the Pacific war it is vitally necessary that our High Command abandon once and for all our present opportunism and adopt a definite policy on how to beat Japan. The early raids, the bombing of Tokyo, the surprise achieved in the Solomons were isolated gestures not followed by any later acts which would give them coherence and meaning. That many of our more recent battles against the Japanese have been well managed is hardly a point at issue. Unless various raids were undertaken merely to give our men experience in attacking—they also gave the Japanese valuable practice in defensive actions—their purpose has not become manifest.

As long as a "beat Japan now" campaign is impossible because of lack of materials and concentration of our energies in Europe, we have a choice of two basic policies. We can remain passively on the defensive, trusting in superior air power as France depended upon the Maginot Line to turn back an attack; or we can fight an active war by carrying out along the perimeter of Japan's conquests numerous small actions which, without imperiling our own main war effort, will compel the Japanese to risk their forces in defense of an area too widespread to be protected conveniently and allow them no period of rest in which to consolidate their gains. The main purpose of such a strategy is to inflict the largest possible losses on Japan while Hitler is being liquidated. The tragedy of our Pacific fighting has been that we have not consistently followed either of these possible lines of action. If we choose to run the enormous risks of defeat involved in an exclusively defensive policy, the occasional offensive gestures in which we have engaged are quite meaningless. If we decide to fight an active war, then such ventures as the Solomons campaign must be made part of a far-reaching war strategy, and we must be ready to follow up our advantages by taking further steps in a planned offensive. In any case our policy must be so well understood by the generals and admirals concerned that there is unity of thought and action among them.

Shopping in 1943

BY LOUIS WALINSKY and EDWARD SARD

CONSIDERING the dire warnings and forecasts of the last two years, the war hasn't hurt us very much as consumers so far. True, shortages have developed; rationing has been introduced; prices have risen considerably. On the other hand, money incomes, for the most part, have kept ahead of rising prices. And what is more important, 1941 and 1942 saw prevalent in the United States the highest living levels ever attained in this country. This seeming miracle, of course, is easily explained. The tremendous expansion of total production (gross national product rose from $88.6 billion in 1939 to $151.6 billion in 1942) was large enough to permit war expenditures to rise from $1.4 billion to $49.1 billion, and still permit a considerable increase in the total of civilian goods and services produced (from $61.7 billion in 1939 to $81.9 billion in 1942). It is this expansion which has made possible our well-being as consumers thus far. But 1942 marked the turning-point, and from now on the trend can be in only one direction—down. American consumers got 2 per cent less for the $81.9 billion they spent in 1942 than for the $74.6 billion they spent in 1941. In 1943, no matter how much American consumers spend, they will get 15 per cent less goods for their money than they got in 1942.

How is this figure arrived at? What does it mean? In what new consumption areas will shortages appear this year? What will consumers be able to buy for their decreasingly valuable dollars?

Let us consider first the over-all picture, especially as it shapes up in the foreground of the coming months. From present indications, 1943 civilian production will decline some 20 to 25 per cent from 1942 levels. This decline will not be evenly distributed, of course. Civilian food production will drop at least 12 per cent; other fields will see declines of more than 30 per cent. This does not mean, however, that civilians will be proportionately restricted in their consumption. We shall be able to draw upon fairly substantial inventories to cushion the drop in production. We dipped into those inventories to the tune of $2.5 billion in 1942, and there was still $14 billion worth left. Production, then, may drop 20 to 25 per cent; consumption need not drop much more than 15 per cent. The over-all picture, in fact, indicates 1943 civilian consumption levels almost equivalent to those of 1939. So far, so good.

But while the prospects with regard to our total consumption are not threatening, in specific consumption areas the picture is a very mixed one. The shortages which have already appeared, and the inconveniences incident to them, are but a prelude to others which lie ahead. An examination of the latest governmental studies in the field makes possible the following forecasts:

FOOD

Early in April fifteen writers resigned from the Office of War Information. The immediate cause was a report which the OWI issued on the 1943 civilian food situa-

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tion. Their own report had been rejected as "too depressing." In return they charged that high officials in the agency preferred "slick salesmanship to honest information," and that these "promoters" had turned the Office of War Information into an "office of war ballyhoo."

This conflict in the OWI could not have arisen if the forecasts of the Department of Agriculture itself were not both tentative and optimistic. These forecasts are based on certain assumptions: that weather will be favorable, that labor will be available, that there will be no shortage of farm machinery, that farmers will plant in accordance with government food-production quotas. Once production is estimated, military and lend-lease demands, which are not always predictable, must be allowed for. Estimates of the civilian food supply, therefore, while they may occasionally have to be revised upward, are much more likely to need revision downward as the year goes by.

To some extent, that is what has been happening. Food-production goals, originally set 7 per cent higher than 1942 production levels, will not be met. The latest reports indicate an over-all increase of only 3 per cent. And whereas last year military and lend-lease demands took 12 per cent of our total food production, this year at least 25 per cent will have to be set aside to satisfy these demands. The OWI report said that civilian food supplies would drop only 6 per cent from last year's levels, but this figure must now be doubled. Nor can we be sure that this revision will be the last.

The figures that follow are subject to the hazards already mentioned and should be read with them in mind.

Meat, Fish, Poultry. The latest estimates indicate that meat supplies available for consumer purchase will decline 12 per cent in 1943, averaging less than two and one-half pounds weekly per person. This prediction is based on the assumptions previously stated, plus the additional assumption that meat rationing will eliminate the black market and permit the lifting of present orders which limit meat supplies for the first quarter of 1943 to 70 per cent of the supply available for civilian use in the same quarter of 1941. A weekly ration of two pounds per person would mean a decline in 1943 of almost 25 per cent. This is a possible figure.

Fish supplies declined 23 per cent in 1942 and will decline another 23 per cent this year. This statement covers all types—fresh, frozen, and canned. Canned fish, of course, will experience the greatest decline.

Poultry provides the relief in this picture. The 1942 supply reached a record annual figure of 22.8 pounds per capita. The supply for 1943 should exceed that by 20 per cent, rising to 28.4 pounds. Turkeys too will be more plentiful, with supplies estimated at 14 per cent above 1942 levels. And although the government will take from 25 to 30 per cent of all egg production, the average consumer will have to curtail his consumption very little —not more than from 317 eggs in 1942 to 306 eggs in 1943.

Dairy Products. The total amount of milk available will drop 9 per cent, butter at least 21 per cent, cheese 25 per cent, condensed and evaporated milk 18 per cent, ice cream 35 per cent, and dried skim milk 27 per cent. The amount of fluid milk and cream, however, will increase 7 per cent. Caution: a continued black market in meat, resulting in slaughter of dairy herds, would change this forecast considerably.

Fats and Oils. No shortage here is anticipated. The total supply, excluding butter, should be about the same as that of 1942. Margarine supplies will increase by 20 per cent.

Fruits. Total production will remain near record levels. Military demands will probably increase from 30 per cent of the total in 1942 to 50 per cent this year. A decline of 48 per cent in civilian supplies of canned fruits and of 24 per cent in canned juices must be anticipated. We may expect 20 per cent less citrus fruit and a small decline in apples.

Vegetables. All forecasts indicate significant declines this year, running in some cases as high as 35 per cent. Leafy, green, and yellow vegetables will drop 18 per cent, canned vegetables at least 20 per cent. A potentially huge Victory Garden output may well offset this decline.

Other Foods. The grains show every indication of holding up, with the exception of rice, in which a decline of 21 per cent must be expected. Cereals and cereal products will undoubtedly find a larger place in the average American's diet. Government demands for domestic sugar are still increasing, and a tight sugar situation for civilians is forecast, with available supplies some 22 per cent smaller than last year. Coffee supplies will decrease 29 per cent below 1942 levels, cocoa 18 per cent, and tea 60 per cent.

This brief summary is bound to have a sobering effect, but the situation is still not a grim one. Our dietary habits will have to change somewhat, but no one should starve. The prospect is for additional rationing, rather than relaxation of present rationing. Unfortunately, averages are deceptive. Food supplies may equal, or nearly equal, those of the 1935-39 period. But black markets, transportation difficulties, concentration of population in war-production centers, and regional price differentials will certainly cause maldistribution of what we have. If, in addition, unfavorable weather, labor shortages, scarcity of farm equipment, or the discouragement of farmers should bring about still further declines in production, the situation might truly become grim. Some farm authorities are already predicting a decline of 30 per cent in civilian food supplies in 1943.

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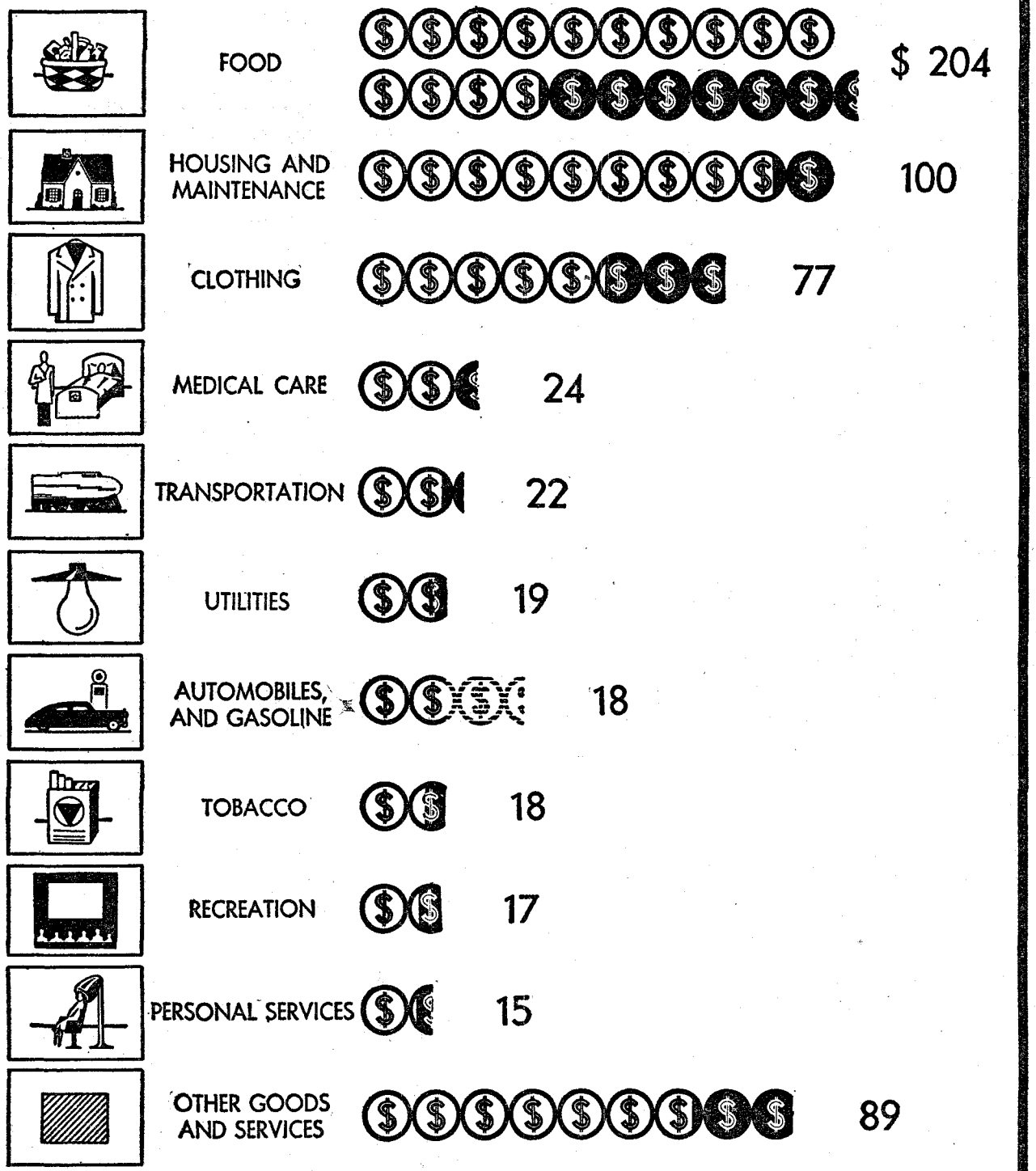
HOW WE SPENT OUR MONEY IN 1942

DOLLARS PER CAPITA



Americans haven't fared so badly these past two years. From now on we shall eat less, wear less, ride less, but even so we are not likely to run into real hardship this year. In 1941 and 1942 our standard of living reached its highest level. A 15 per cent drop is likely, which would put us back on the level of 1939. The drop will not, however, be distributed evenly among all goods and services. In some it will be less than 15 per cent, in others more.

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CLOTHING

Shoes. Production for civilians in 1943 will decline to a maximum of 350,000,000 pairs—not quite three pairs per person. Quality also will decline, since the top five grades of sole leather are now reserved for the armed forces. Rubber will not be available for soles.

Textiles. Here the situation is very unclear. There is no great shortage of cotton goods, or even of wool, at the moment. But military demands are constantly increasing and may take as much as one-third of all our clothing production this year. There will be no silk or nylon available for civilian production. Quality standards will continue to deteriorate. Production of all articles of clothing using rubber will decrease sharply.

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

Most things in this category are durable goods made largely of metals. Their production has been either completely halted or drastically reduced.

Heating Equipment. Because this is an essential, production will be continued, but on a very small scale. The figures that follow give estimated 1943 production as a percentage of 1940 production: cooking stoves, 25 per cent; heating stoves, 35 per cent; hot-water heaters, 45 per cent; hot-water tanks, 64 per cent; oil burners, no production; fuel-oil tanks, 12 per cent; furnaces, 16 per cent; radiators, 10 per cent. The inference is plain. Take good care of such equipment if you are a home owner; it is precious and cannot easily be replaced.

Coal production will remain high, although increasing conversion from oil to coal may strain our supplies. Civilian fuel-oil supplies will fail by 30 per cent to meet demand. This indicates another cold winter. In spite of the construction of new pipe lines, fuel oil will certainly remain rationed.

Furniture, Furnishings, and Household Utensils. Shortages of lumber and other raw materials, plus the continued drain of man-power from these industries, indicate a continuation of the declines which set in last year. Consumer expenditures in this field amounted to $3 billion in 1939, $3.3 billion in 1940, $4 billion in 1941, but fell back to $3.3 in 1942. (These figures do not compensate for constantly increasing price levels.) In 1943 production will fall below 1939 levels. Furniture production will be 75 per cent of 1940 production, and there is considerable inventory on hand; cooking utensils, only 10 per cent, with considerable inventory; electrical appliances, 2 per cent, with negligible inventory; incandescent bulbs, 75 per cent, insufficient inventory; radio tubes, 28 per cent, negligible inventory; flashlight-battery cells, 25 per cent, small inventory.

Production of the following items has been completely stopped: mechanical refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, sewing machines, portable electric lamps and shades, radio receiving sets, and phonographs. Inventories of these items are either non-existent or very small. The prospect of rationing for some or all of these articles is by no means excluded.

SELECTED PERSONAL ITEMS

Tobacco, wines, and liquors will remain abundant, though declining from 1942's record levels. The same is true for cosmetics, most toilet articles, beauty aids, and medical supplies. Items utilizing rubber will, of course, tend to disappear; but the development of plastics and other substitutes will prevent a serious decline in the consumption of such articles.

Personal items requiring the use of metal will be increasingly hard to buy. No safety razors will be made in 1943, and the inventory on hand is dangerously small. Razor-blade production, however, will remain at 86 per cent of the 1940 level, with a good inventory to supplement it. A shortage of hairpins and bobby pins will trouble the ladies. Production will decline 75 per cent from 1942 levels, and there is little inventory on hand. Baby-carriage manufacture will hold up fairly well, but most of the metal has been eliminated.

No watches will be made in 1943, although alarm clocks, previously eliminated, will be back to some extent. Portable-typewriter production will be nil, and safety pins will decline to 50 per cent of the 1941 figure.

TRANSPORTATION

Gasoline will remain scarce, but some relief is in sight for car owners in the shape of more tires. Tire supplies for 1942 were but 10 per cent of those for 1941, but the new Victory tire, production of which was halted at the end of March, will soon begin to reach the market in large quantities. Qualified motorists will become eligible for top-grade tires next week.

Railroad travel will become increasingly difficult. Rolling stock is being utilized to its fullest capacity now; deterioration is becoming rapid; and little replacement is in prospect. As industrial production increases and a larger army gets on the move, civilians must experience greater difficulty in securing either freight or passenger accommodation. Travel priorities have already been instituted. They may be extended.

SERVICES

We all depend for our well-being upon various service and professional occupations. Laundry, domestic service, shoe repair, barber and beauty service, medical and dental aid, and the like provide a large avenue for consumer expenditures. Forecasts here must be very tentative. Yet it is clear that the draft, the high wages prevalent in war industry, fuel shortages, and other factors will make increasing inroads upon our consumption of these services. It is already almost impossible to get full-time domestic help. Laundries may have to curtail their services very seriously because of man-power and fuel shortages. The demands of the armed forces will continue markedly to reduce the number of doctors and dentists serving the public.

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A few additional factors which might throw this entire set of forecasts out of gear should be pointed out. First, the opening of new fronts, the occupation of new territories, and our responsibilities to the people in them will make increasing and unpredictable demands upon civilian supplies. At the same time domestic supplies may be supplemented by "back hauls," such as cork, manganese, horsehides, sheep and lamb skins from North Africa. Secondly, a great deal will depend on how well our transportation system stands up under the increased strains to which it must be subjected in the latter part of this year. Thirdly, and most important, there remains the inflationary danger: 81.9 billion of consumer dollars bought in 1942 only as much as $69.7 billion would have bought in 1939. This year, in spite of reduced supplies, consumers, unless checked by radical tax increases and forced savings, will have even more billions to spend. In the face of this inflationary pressure, shall we be able to "hold the line"? As the total of goods and services available to consumers declines, it is vital to health, productive efficiency, and morale that they be more fairly shared. But rising prices will make it impossible for millions of families to subsist on anything better than a semi-starvation level. Higher prices, rather than shortages, constitute the greatest threat to consumers in 1943 and afterward.

Waste on the Ways

BY SELDEN MENEFEE

LAST year the nation's shipyards reached their goal of eight million tons of merchant ships. This year they must build eighteen million tons to keep pace with our war program. For the tanks, fighter planes, guns, and shells produced in this arsenal of democracy are useless unless they can be transported to the fronts.

In March the industry produced 146 ships aggregating 1,516,000 tons. This record will have to be beaten in coming months if the 1943 quota is to be attained. But there is danger that the rate of production cannot even be kept up, much less increased, and for two reasons—inefficient utilization of the existing labor supply and low employee morale. The two are closely related.

I talked to dozens of shipyard workers and technicians early this year, mainly on the West Coast, and almost all felt frustrated and angered by the ignorance or indifference of their foremen and supervisors. They resented the waste of man-power and material, and even more they resented the attacks on the workers' patriotism heard so often during the recent hysteria over "absenteeism." They felt that absenteeism was used by the owners as an excuse for their own shortcomings.

Absenteeism in the shipyards has been a serious problem, and I do not attempt to minimize it. The loss of 16,700,000 man-hours in December alone produced a dangerous situation. The fact that shipyard absenteeism ran around 18 per cent in the First World War is beside the point; even the present 6 to 12 per cent is too high.

Portland, Oregon, has shown how the problem can be tackled sanely. Early this year a committee was set up to study the causes of absenteeism. On it were representatives of the unions, employers, government agencies, and the public. The committee found that the rate of absenteeism varied greatly from yard to yard in the Portland area, ranging from 3 to 17 per cent in one week in February. Since the yards employed, by and large, the same sort of workers, this spread indicated that conditions outside the workers' control were important factors. The committee concluded that too little attention had been paid to unreported sickness, often due to inadequate housing and lack of community facilities; bad transportation, causing workers to arrive at the job so late that they were denied admittance; the need to shop, go to the bank, or conduct other personal business which could only be attended to during working hours; and, finally, dissatisfaction with the job and the management.

As a result of this investigation a campaign was launched against the conditions that kept people from work. New housing was made available; stores and banks were induced to stay open nights; and perhaps most important of all, the committee recommended that the industry eliminate favoritism and nepotism in the selection of supervisors and introduce other managerial reforms. The employer representatives on the committee agreed to this program. The upshot was that absenteeism, which ran from 12 to 20 per cent in December, dropped to between 5 and 10 per cent at the end of March in Portland yards. Improved weather conditions accounted for part of this improvement, but community effort unquestionably played an important role.

Recent press reports have given belated attention to a more basic problem in the shipyards—high labor turnover. According to Admiral Emory S. Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission, at least 650,000 workers must be added in 1943 to the 1,500,000 working in shipyards at the turn of the year. In April the Maritime Commission announced that the shipbuilding industry was losing men so rapidly as to imperil the whole pro-

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gram. In the first quarter of the year the turnover rate reached 11.2 per cent a month. Some 200,000 workers left the yards, and the industry suffered a deficit of 70,000 men in this period.

Labor turnover is especially high in Pacific Coast yards, which are building slightly more than half of our new ships. One Seattle yard had to hire 25,000 workers during a six months' period to achieve a net gain of 3,000 workers. Another hired 9,000 to gain 2,000. A careful analysis of the reasons for this turnover revealed the draft to be only a minor cause; inconvenient living facilities and general dissatisfaction with conditions in the yards were far more important.

In the San Francisco Bay area workers recruited for Kaiser often appear at the public housing offices and say, "Here I am; where's my house?" Discovering that no house is available, they start to hunt for one. A few get into a defense housing project, but more wind up in flop houses, furnished rooms, or trailers, often far away from the yards. Most of these workers last only a few weeks and then go home in disgust. Since few of those who stay can send for their families, they seek amusement in the beer parlors of Vallejo, Richmond, and other Bay towns. The consequent hangovers, plus disillusionment with the total situation, keep them away from the job or lead them to throw it up.

The federal government is largely responsible for the slowness in developing housing in some areas. Kaiser and the Maritime Commission have shown what is possible by the construction in a few months of the 10,000-unit "Vanport" project at Portland.

According to the workers themselves, there is no shortage of man-power; most of them complain, rather, that they are unable to put in more than four hours of good, solid work on an eight-hour shift. A Seattle electrician said to me, "It was bad enough to work under a foreman who had never seen a ship until a few months ago. But it was worse to have to waste time on the job day after day because the work hadn't been laid out right. On the day before Thanksgiving the foreman told me, 'Your crew will work tomorrow. There's a war on, you know.' I said, 'I'm not working tomorrow for you or anyone else. You know damned well we've had practically nothing to do for days and there's no rush of work tomorrow.' " This man was "absent without excuse" for several days while he contributed to the turnover rate by seeking and obtaining a job in another yard.

Symptomatic of the situation in the yards are the "funny" stories told up and down the Pacific Coast by shipyard workers. There is the tale of the man who was ordered by a foreman to carry a piece of wooden staging back and forth across the yard. After a few days he noticed that a man was following him. He told the foreman he wanted to quit because he was afraid a government inspector was shadowing him and had discovered his lack of work. The foreman laughed and said, "Don't mind him—he's only your helper."

There are dozens of similar stories perhaps better founded in fact. The man whose son was among those missing on Bataan and who gave up his own business to come to work in the Kaiser shipyard at Vancouver is an actual case. After six weeks he "asked for his time," explaining to his fellow-employees with tears in his eyes that he couldn't stand any longer to be told to walk around the yard carrying a wrench, and to be bawled out when he asked for useful work.

Kaiser's Richmond, California, yard has an especially good record on the Coast largely because it has used the services of qualified marine engineers. The same is true of Kaiser's Oregon Shipyard at Portland. But in other West Coast plants, including at least one of Kaiser's, bad management is a very common complaint.

Shipyard inefficiency can be attributed in part to simple growing pains. No industry can mushroom from near zero to 102,000 workers (in the Portland area) or to 165,000 (around San Francisco Bay) without some dislocation. Furthermore, mass-production methods are still in the experimental stage in shipbuilding. In some yards the problems are gradually working themselves out. Kaiser's Oregon Shipyard has doubled its production—from nine Liberty ships last July to eighteen in March—while taking a net loss of 4,000 workers.

Faulty allocation of materials to the shipyards has held up production in some instances. The yards get their materials through the four regional construction offices of the Maritime Commission—in Philadelphia, Chicago, New Orleans, and Oakland—over which there is little or no central control. According to one operator this has resulted in a piling up in some yards of parts which are greatly needed in others. Furthermore, the Washington staff of the Maritime Commission, from Rear Admiral Howard L. Vickery down, is made up of people with little or no experience in ship construction, and in consequence the program has lacked expert central planning.

Management, however, must bear the major responsibility for the waste of man-power and materials. Under the cost-plus system the operators have no particular incentive to keep costs down. Poor supervision is therefore tolerated. In many yards labor, skilled and unskilled, has been "hoarded" against possible future needs, with a disastrous effect on employee morale.

Under present conditions yards working on navy contracts must use the cost-plus system because of the frequent changes in specifications. But companies building cargo ships are in a different category. Though the operators vociferously deny it, their employees insist that cost-plus contracts and labor hoarding go together. As proof, they cite the case of one California yard which, when it shifted from cost-plus work to building oil tankers on a contract basis, immediately fired 2,500 of its 20,000

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hands, offering the lame excuse that it had been planning to weed out "inefficient workers" for some time.

A final contributing factor in inefficiency is the failure of some shipyard unions to go all out for war. On the West Coast the A. F. of L. boilermakers' union has become chiefly a dues-collecting agency; its members have no real sense of participation in its affairs. The boilermakers got a closed-shop contract in Portland when the yards employed only about 200 workers; since then 100,000 men have been added to the rolls. Yet when the C. I. O. shipworkers' union recently asked for an NLRB election in Kaiser's Portland yards, Tom Ray, business agent for the boilermakers, asserted that such a move would "create disaster" and damage the war effort. The C. I. O. petition has now been granted, and if an election is held, the A. F. of L. will probably be defeated, since most shipyard workers resent its large fees and high-handed policies.

The high wage standards in the industry set by the unions are good for employee morale. On the other hand, the boilermakers' refusal to accept Negroes into full membership has dampened the enthusiasm of colored workers, who are not allowed to rise above the status of helpers. Both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions have been guilty of craft-union practices which should be modified in the interest of war-time efficiency. One Wilmington, Delaware, shipfitter told me that his crew was often idle for two hours at a time, waiting for the rigging crew to do a minor job. He could do the job himself in five minutes, he said, but if he touched anything in the rigging line the riggers would walk out.

To sum up: to obtain the speedier ship construction which is vital for the war effort the following steps are clearly indicated:

1. Government agencies should quickly provide more community facilities near the yards—not only housing and transportation, but also facilities for recreation, shopping, rationing, banking, and the care of children. With this being done, the yards should intensify the recruiting of women workers, who will eventually have to take over most of the lighter jobs.

2. Government control over shipbuilding should be placed in the hands of an expert in ship construction. Someone should be made responsible for bringing order into shipbuilding. Inspections should be more frequent and more painstaking to prevent wastage of labor and materials.

3. Cost-plus contracts should be done away with wherever possible. Where this is not possible, the contracts should contain a penalty clause providing that the operators' profits will be lowered as construction costs rise.

4. Labor should participate more whole-heartedly in employee-management plans, adopt more democratic methods within the unions, and abandon craft-union disputes for the duration.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE BROWN SHIRTS constitute the newest and most serious menace to the peace of Europe, particularly since the German people are now completely insulated against learning the truth, not only about their own land, but concerning public opinion abroad. . . . Hitler, Goebbels, and Göring are again training the German nation as an army for "the day."—*May 3, 1933.*

TO THE EDITORS of *The Nation:* I am amazed at the stand you are taking toward the new German government. . . . For twenty years I have read *The Nation* and I have admired it for its decency and fairness, but you can consider my relation with it ended when my subscription has run out.—THEODORE J. SCHERZ, *May 3, 1933.*

VERY SOON Adolf Hitler will emerge as a bulwark of European equilibrium, a bellicose leader for peace, a pet child of international capitalism, and a staunch defender of Western civilization against the Soviets.—OSCAR JASZI, *May 17, 1933.*

TO THE EDITORS of *The Nation:* Your misconception of contemporary affairs is astonishing. Through the Hitler party a new German nation, a young Germany, has been born. . . . Please cancel my subscription.—C. BARCK, *May 24, 1933.*

PEARL BUCK has quietly resigned from the missionary service of the Presbyterian Church. By so doing she has deprived us of the entertaining spectacle which a heresy trial would certainly have provided. . . . By now she is again en route to China, no longer as a missionary. . . . Probably she feels that a place where "the heathen rage" is preferable to one where the theologians rant.—*May 17, 1933.*

UNEMPLOYMENT is the overshadowing fact in our economic crisis. Approximately one-third of our wage-earning population is jobless. Moreover, thousands technically employed receive no pay. . . . Except for the emergency bank legislation of the first days of March, all else is of secondary importance to reemploying our citizenry. A five-billion-dollar public-construction program is imperative.—*May 17, 1933.*

THE UTTER CALLOUSNESS with which the average public official views crime in high places was reflected by the testimony of John W. Pole, former Comptroller of the Currency, before the Senate committee investigating the Harriman bank fraud. Explaining that the Harriman case was only a "routine affair," Pole said that "defalcations are common matters in the Comptroller's office, you know." When Senator Robinson of Indiana asked him if defalcations by bank presidents were common, Pole calmly replied, "Yes," as if it were a matter of no importance whatever.—*May 24, 1933.*

BY A STRANGE COINCIDENCE, at dawn of the day when Hitler was having Germany purged of everything Marxist, modern, and Jewish in its literature, the Rivera murals at Radio City were nailed into what may turn out to be a coffin.—*May 24, 1933.*

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London in the Spring

BY IDA TREAT

London, April 5

IN THE sun this morning I discovered that London has a color—and that the color is red. Paris would be gray under any sun: stone-gray that pales out at mid-day and takes on a greenish tinge in the fading light. London's brick needs mornings like this to come alive. Through the film of varnish that coats the window panes—a guaranty against flying glass which I first mistook for grime—I looked out on a city like a reflected sunrise.

Leaning out through the round window that looks across the roofs of Mayfair, I hunted in vain for yesterday's ruins. Down in the mews brick walls—Victorian rather than Georgian—ran trim and parallel without a break. Across the street the paper strips pasted on unshattered panes might have passed for a wooden lattice. The glass of our own house is intact. "Not a pane cracked during all the blitz," our porter says and is proud of the fact. It could not be said of many houses in the neighborhood. L—, whose flat I share, declares she never will forget the edgy, scrapy, tinkly sound of glass being swept up in the street. She heard it every morning while the blitz was on.

Today, Monday, is ration day. Our grocer must get up early on Monday mornings. When I call at nine, my week's rations are ready on the counter, one little pile among many: butter, margarine, lard, bacon, cheese. He has only to cut the coupons and take in the money. "Marketing" in these days of ration books is little more than a figure of speech. The only thrill comes at the first of the month when with twenty virgin points I feel as rich and excited as a child with a Christmas dollar. Last month I lost my head and squandered the whole twenty on prunes—prunes having appeared, though not for long, on the grocer's shelves. This time I was more circumspect: one tin of American pears, twelve points; one tin of third-grade salmon, four; which left me four to spare on things like breakfast-food at three points the package, or rice at one point the pound.

Today the green-grocer made it clear that he has accepted me as a regular customer. From a basket covered with burlap he produced one pound of apples and another pound of rhubarb stalks. I put them in the bottom of my bag—feelings divided between sneaking pride at being singled out for preference and shame at taking things of which there is not enough for everyone.

As I walked home with my bag of vegetables, half my brain was busy with the query: would melted margarine make a good substitute for salad oil? while the other half kept nagging me to see about my gas mask—just in case Hitler should think up another nasty trick to celebrate the spring. The mask I own is too tight; I can breathe in, but not out—it swells up like a balloon and chokes me.

The first noisy alert London had known for months was timed almost to a day with my arrival. That evening when the sirens started I went down to the hotel lounge, where guests sat unperturbed over their coffee, no one making any comment beyond, "Well, this sounds like old times." I joined two American Red Cross workers, newcomers like myself, and we sat and smoked while the guns racketed outside and a frail-looking woman in a tin hat drifted in and out through the swinging doors from the hall to the street, where falling shrapnel tinkled on the pavement like rain. We flattered ourselves we looked like the others—old hands at that sort of thing—until someone remarked kindly, "If you feel nervous, you can always go down into the Tube."

During one of the next alerts I investigated the Tube. Many of the three-tiered bunks were full of working folk who wanted a night's sleep out of sound of the guns, and mothers with young children. There was also a sprinkling of fur-coated ladies who said the blitz had done something to their nerves. One woman with shaky, cigarette-stained fingers complained that the blitz had forced her to sleep "alongside people covered with vermin." "It's the fault of the politicians," she said mysteriously. "This is what the politicians have brought us to." She stands out as the one jittery Londoner I have met so far.

The average Londoner's reaction to the type of alerts we have been getting seems to be like L—'s. She spent the noisiest alert of the series dictating to her secretary. Only once she stopped—when a thundering crash drowned out her voice—and then only long enough to remark, "That sounds like a bomb." The secretary looked sidewise from her typing, and without missing a letter, "No, Madam, it couldn't be. There wasn't any jar."

This afternoon, with the spring air drifting through the jointed panes of my round window, London basked in the sun like a peace-time city. In the warm sky the barrage ballons flew low; bulbous creatures with widespread ears and blunted snout dipped earthward, grotesque in the soft spring light as the thought of war.

The pianist in the next room limbered her fingers with staccato scales that pursued me down the elevator shaft like showers of cool pebbles. The porter stood sunning himself on the well-scrubbed steps. "Fine afternoon for

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a walk, Madam." His son is overseas with the forces; his own decorations date from the last war. On his coat lapel he wears an A. R. P. button.

Over in Hyde Park the new grass had the sharp acid green of winter wheat. Crocuses and daffodils were pricking up under the trees, and gulls flocked like pigeons along the rim of the Serpentine. Spaniels and Scotties whisked over the lawns—the well-behaved London dogs that need no leash and come to heel at a whistle. Along the path Londoners strolled and sat. All the benches and iron chairs held occupants.

I stopped to watch a Land Army girl—sturdy legs in woollen socks and stout boots—spading a plot of one of the Ministry of Agriculture's model gardens. The flat prongs of her fork bit deep in the compact soil: a wrench, a heave, a swing, then the fork dug down again. She had a nice rhythm of back and arms—no peasant woman could have done better.

On the green across the path American soldiers were playing baseball, while a fringe of interested Britishers looked on, silently respectful of a sport not their own. On the sidelines a pitcher and his catcher practiced, serious and absorbed—and a London papa gave his young son (who wanted to know: "Why does the chap lift his leg when he throws the ball?") a highly technical explanation about levers and catapults.

Farther on men in green fatigue uniforms were doing what I took to be setting-up exercises slowed down to a spring tempo. From a distance it looked like a slow-motion ballet—a war ballet, with anti-aircraft batteries poking up above earthworks on the back drop and a machine-gun trained on the audience in the foreground.

Away off in the distance something jarred. The air quivered—it was more a sensation than a sound. A faraway siren cleared its throat and burst into thin wailing. A second spoke, a third. They were all at it, filling the sky with their clamor.

The baseball game broke off. The pitcher's arm dropped to his side; the catcher got up from his heels. The ballet stiffened to attention. Scuff, scuff—the ballet and ball team were soldiers marching. The sirens wailed out. On the path Londoners still strolled. The Land Army girl went on spading her garden. Buses and taxis streamed along Park Lane. I slowed down my pace, suddenly aware I was the only one in the street walking fast. Wardens stood here and there in doorways, alert and watchful. Two soldiers came out from an American canteen with cartons of cigarettes under their arms. They squinted up at the sky and set off down the street.

"A nice walk, Madam?" inquired the porter from the doorway. Then in the hearty paternal tone of the shelter warden, he added: "It won't be anything this time. No guns. We'll soon hear the all-clear."

Above stairs the pianist was still at her scales. L— called to me from the kitchen, "Back so soon?"

"I thought I'd better come in," I said.

"Oh, the alert? That's so, I did think I heard something, but I wasn't sure."

Under my window the brick and tile of Mayfair glowed sootily in the sun like a fire of Cardiff coal. The barrage balloons were flying high. Winged mammoths no longer—they looked like tiny silver fish up there, nibbling the clouds.

In the Wind

THE KU KLUX KLAN in the highly industrialized state of Florida is circulating a leaflet of quotations from Rickenbacker's speech. After the quotations the leaflet adds, "Are You on the Job? The Ku Klux Klan is Watching!"

THE OPENING of the movie "Mission to Moscow" on April 29 was preceded by an unusually large advance guard of rumors. First it was said that the movie would be postponed because of the hostile tone of pre-release press comment, and that Warner Brothers' top publicity man was in New York "buttering up" the reviewers; a current rumor is that the film was shown to the diplomatic corps in Washington and cut so as not to offend any country—fascist, communist, or democratic.

RIGORS OF WAR: Recent advertisements in the New York *Times* offer an ashtray for $14 and a ring-and-pin set, "the pin a buttercup of gold holding in its gold cage center a treasure of aquamarines. On them, as if attracted by their blue beauty and brilliance, a baby butterfly of rubies and a diamond. The pin, $235; the matching ring, $320."

IN HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI, the federal government is trying five men on lynching charges. A committee of prominent citizens has been formed to raise a defense fund. Contributions may be sent to two bankers or to the mayor of one of the communities in the area.

FESTUNG EUROPA: In July, 1940, there were 484,000 radios in Norway. There are now 7,100, all owned by Quisling party members and Nazi officials. . . . Because he refused to surrender his seat on a street car to a Nazi officer, a Norwegian worker has been sentenced to two years in prison; fourteen passengers who testified that the officer had behaved in a brutal and offensive manner were each sentenced to one month in prison. . . . In 1939 and 1940 Germany's birth rate was 20.4 per thousand; in 1941 it was 18.8, and in 1942 it dropped to 15.2. . . . A large number of German workers in Halle have been jailed for mingling with French workers in the same factory. Two women who introduced French workers to their friends have been sentenced to six years at hard labor.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Europe Against Hitler

I. HOW STRONG IS THE UNDERGROUND?

BY JOHN W. GERBER AND ALFRED KANTOROWICZ

A GREAT historical irony is overtaking Hitler. He planned to rule Europe by dividing it, by playing age-old antagonisms one against the other, by creating new ones as he went along. He planned, ultimately, to create a world of subservient peoples, united under a black cross of terror. He has succeeded in creating a different kind of unity—a unity of the peoples against himself, a unity of resistance to Nazi domination.

But as days pass and the United Nations open no campaign in Western Europe, that resistance grows weaker. Men who might have led an anti-Nazi uprising have been imprisoned or killed. The masses are now so ill-fed that they scarcely have the strength to participate in uprisings. At least four million of the ablest members of Europe's potential army of resistance have been deported to Germany for forced labor, in addition to the three million prisoners of war. And Dr. Goebbels's propaganda machine never rests; it is continually hammering in the fact that nothing can be expected from the United Nations.

Nazi methods of suppression, however, have still not touched the core of opposition. It is our purpose to appraise the people's capacity to resist in each country of Europe and to determine, roughly, the amount of aid the United Nations can expect when they launch their attack upon Hitler's Fortress. But the attack must come quickly—or our conclusions will have been invalidated.

The two chief forms that resistance now takes are underground work and guerrilla warfare. The experienced underground leader is most useful when teaching factory workers to wreck valuable machines by throwing sand or salt into their bearings or to produce shells that won't go off, or when showing peasants the best ways of hiding their food from the Nazis, or when influencing officials to sabotage Nazi orders or teachers to indoctrinate children with the ideal of liberty and the determination to achieve it. Haphazard assassinations and bombings have little place in efficient underground work. They lead to too costly reprisals.

Guerrilla warfare—another thing entirely—is one kind of open war. It is effective in countries where forests are thick, communications bad, and mountains impenetrable—countries such as Slovakia, Yugoslavia, parts of Poland and Russia. It is carried on by small groups of men with such good liaison that a force of 50 or 60, or even of 500 or 600, can be brought together at short notice. The task of such a force is to infiltrate to the rear of the Nazis and perform some act—like blowing up a railway junction or highway bridge—which will make the local occupation commander feel so insecure that he will disperse his forces to guard against a similar attack somewhere else. The guerrillas can then deal with the separate troop units individually. A guerrilla force never makes a frontal assault; it avoids a pitched battle; and when the Nazis make things too hot, it evaporates into the little groups out of which it grew. When the invasion comes, the guerrillas will mobilize their maximum strength to aid the armies of liberation. For the present, they try to inflict as much damage as possible while conserving their manpower for the decisive battle.

The countries in which resistance is expressed by underground work are in the main those subject to Western, that is Anglo-American, influence—Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, and Greece. The countries where guerrilla warfare is waged are generally those under Eastern, or Russian, influence, an influence not due to a political philosophy but rather to geography and common Slavic characteristics. A third group, the Germans and their willing and unwilling satellites, must be considered separately.

When the Nazis occupied the Western countries they tried in every case to establish a Quisling government which would give the decrees of the conquerors the appearance of legality and to win the inhabitants to the Nazi cause by persuasion. They failed in this purpose partly because of the strong democratic ideals and national pride of the peoples, partly because the requirements of the ever-expanding Nazi war machine imposed hardships which aroused discontent and hatred.

The first requirement was food, for the army and for the German people. It was made clear by General Göring that whatever the consequences to the occupied countries the Germans would be the last to feel the pinch. Dr. Ley, the German Labor Minister, put it another way: "A lower race needs less room, less clothing, less food, and less culture than a higher race." Since no country in Europe was completely self-sufficient—although France came close to it—shortages made themselves felt almost immediately. The most acute was in meat and fats, lack of which is well-nigh disastrous during a cold winter. The Germans instituted rigid rationing, but more often than

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not even the slim official rations have not been available. The food crisis has been aggravated by widespread black markets, from which the Germans are usually the biggest profiteers. On the Belgian black market, for instance, butter costs $6 a pound, flour ("practically white") $1.70 a pound, a bar of soap $2.

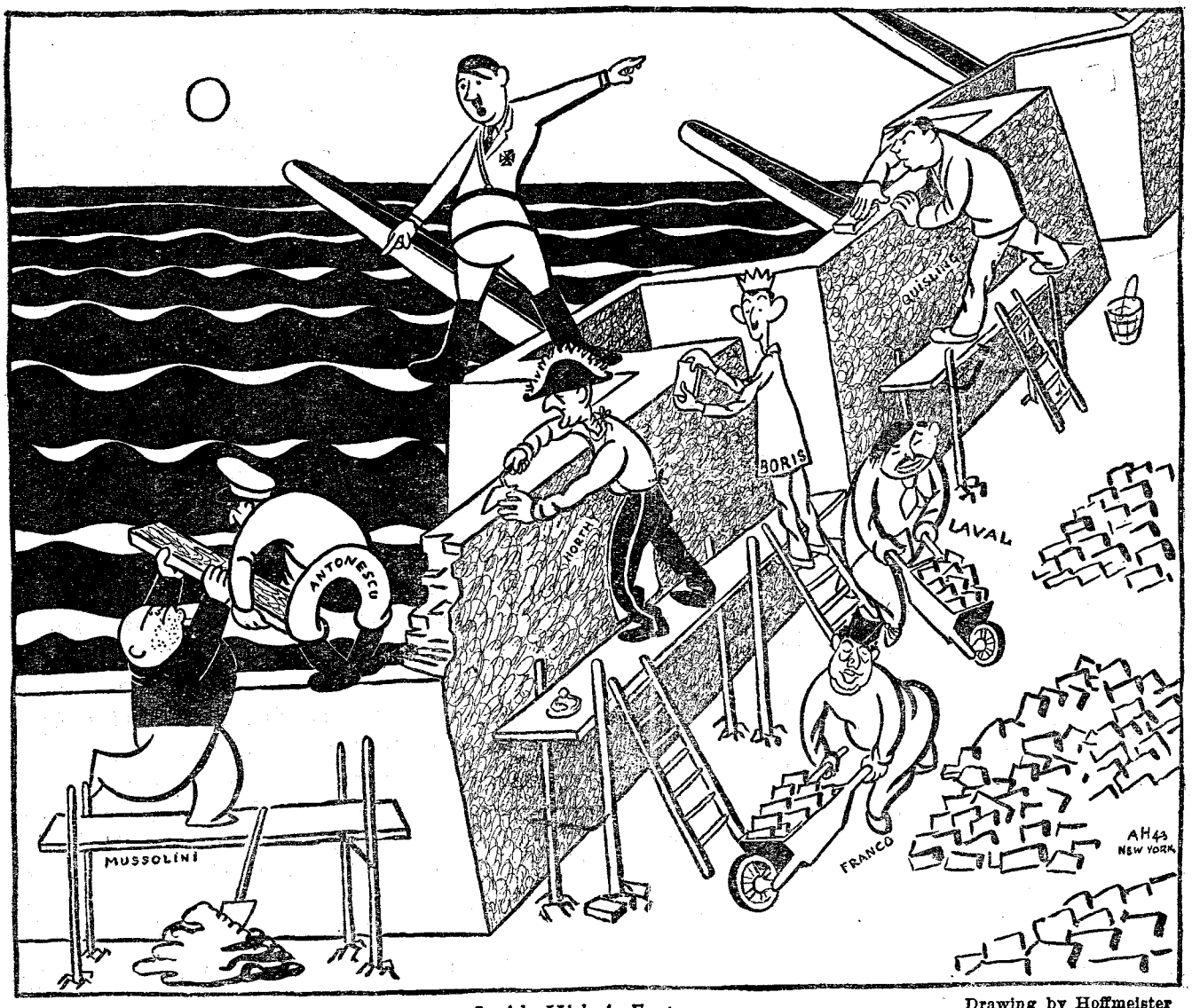
There can be no doubt that the resulting physical deterioration has weakened both the will and the ability to resist. Prince Karl of Sweden, head of the Swedish Red Cross, recently reported an alarming increase of sickness and epidemics in Norway, and other sources tell of the prevalence of intestinal and skin diseases. In France, Belgium, and Holland the ration's caloric content is as much as 60 per cent below the minimum-subsistence standard of 2,500 calories a day established by the League of Nations. In Greece the official ration is one-tenth of the minimum-subsistence standard.

The workers sent to Germany for slave labor are invariably those who are physically most fit, and their deportation has weakened the forces of resistance; the more so since in many cases they are members of trade unions, around which underground work is organized. The Belgians, Dutch, and French have been hit particularly hard in this way. Three hundred thousand of Belgium's million and a half industrial workers have been deported.

No country has escaped German reprisal killings. Scarcely a day goes by that the Nazis themselves do not announce the execution of one or more "saboteurs," "Communists," or "Jews." More terrible is the killing of hostages. During the last three months of 1941, 250 French hostages were executed. Since staunch anti-Nazis die in every mass execution, organized resistance is continually losing its leading spirits.

Such, in brief, are the factors everywhere militating against resistance. In addition, conditions peculiar to the various countries make the efforts of the underground worker more productive in some than in others.

France is the only great power under complete Nazi domination, and except for the unique Danish experiment it is the only occupied country whose pre-war government has not gone into exile. Although the French people are actually ruled by the Nazis, the Pétain government was put into power by such a smoothly executed maneuver that the majority of the people were persuaded they were ruled by their own legally constituted govern-



Inside Hitler's Fortress

Drawing by Hoffmeister

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ment. The Germans did everything possible to encourage that belief, and the treacherous propaganda put out by the Pétain government increased the general confusion of mind. To a great extent the French people now appear to be disillusioned with the Vichy government, particularly with Pierre Laval, but the fact of its existence and the divided loyalties it has created add greatly to the difficulties of the underground worker. His activities must be considered revolutionary, since in seeking to overthrow the Nazis he is undermining Vichy.

If the contest for power between De Gaulle and Giraud has not increased further the confusion in France, it is not the fault of Vichy and German propaganda. André Philip, the French Socialist leader, claims that five-sixths of the population back General de Gaulle.

Belgium was demoralized by the completeness of the German victory and the surrender of King Leopold, who has been portrayed by German propaganda as giving at least tacit approval to the occupation. According to all reports, conditions are more difficult here than anywhere else in Western Europe, and there is little hope that Belgians will have the strength to mobilize any considerable assistance for the United Nations.

The Netherlands undoubtedly has closer liaison with London than any other country. The tortuous Dutch coastline is impossible to patrol, and the British regularly receive information about activities in Holland. The story has been told that when the Nazis were building a submarine in a Dutch port, the R. A. F. made several raids on the shipyard but never scored a hit on the submarine. On the day it was completed, however, the R. A. F. appeared and demolished it.

Norway appears to be tightly united against the invader. Before the war a large proportion of the population belonged to trade unions, employer associations, consumer cooperatives, and sport clubs. The Nazis at first tried to woo those organizations with gentleness. When they failed they obtained control of them by trickery and force, but they found then they had the façade but not the membership. The Norwegians still appear to have the chief requisite of effective resistance—organization. This advantage, however, is to some extent offset by the Nazi grip on food distribution and communications. In the country, where there is still adequate food, houses are so far apart that coordinated action is next to impossible. In the cities, where men might act in concert, there is insufficient food to sustain their energies.

There are at least two guerrilla groups fighting in Norway. The Moscow radio frequently reports the activities of a unit in the Far North headed by a man named Larson and said to consist of four or five hundred men. The Germans have recently expressed alarm about another group, said to number more than a thousand, on the Hardangar Vidda plateau.

The Nazis have always pointed to Denmark as the example of a democratic country which, because it "cooperated," was able to live in peace, without interference in its internal affairs from Germany. But although the Danes are still relatively well fed and well treated by the Nazis, there are indications that the honeymoon is ending. Using what freedom they have left, Danish workers have organized one strike after another in factories working for the Nazi war machine. When such tactics are ineffective, they turn to underground work. Major General Hermann von Hanneken, commander of the occupation forces, recently threatened to institute death penalties, round-ups of hostages, and communal fines unless sabotage and patriotic demonstrations ceased.

The spirit of Greece has not been broken by hunger, though a great part of the Greek nation will starve to death unless help arrives soon. After the military defeat by a tenfold superior enemy, the people developed a tremendous pride in their army's heroic resistance and a deep consciousness of what a small nation can achieve through sheer determination. Much of the terrain of Greece is adapted to guerrilla warfare, and a number of guerrilla groups are active. A Turkish paper recently compared—doubtless over-optimistically—the achievements of a group led by a certain General Mantakas with those of General Mihailovich.

Only in France have the Nazis been able to bring to heel any considerable number of intellectuals. Nowhere have they been able to get teachers to include a serious study of National Socialism in their curriculums, though hundreds of teachers in every country have been sent to concentration camps. Because the Nazis pretend to be the defenders of Christian culture, it is more difficult for them to take open measures against clergymen, but they have not shrunk from arresting some of the less prominent. In the Netherlands, particularly, the church is becoming a rallying-point for anti-Nazis, and the fight of Norway's Bishop Bergraav is well known.

Passive resistance among the workers and peasants cannot, of course, be so easily detected. But the fact that, according to all reports, country districts are better fed than cities indicates that the peasants are becoming increasingly skilful at withholding food from the Nazis. And from British sources comes word that the slow-down campaign in factories has reached such proportions that in Belgium, for instance, industrial production has fallen off 30 per cent despite longer working hours.

Scattered news items reveal the general temper of the people of occupied Europe. A Nazi officer is shot in Rouen. A freight train bound for Germany is blown up at Albert. A clothing factory in Schaerbeek, Belgium, is damaged at night by three unidentified men. Four Nazi guards are wounded in the bombing of several German garages. In Denmark seventeen strikes have been reported since January 1. In Greece two German guards

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are killed when an ammunition storehouse in Salonika is blown up. Four Dutch Quislings are shot in one week.

When we engage the occupation forces on the European continent the people will want to help us, and certainly they will try. But they are too unorganized and too undernourished to be of any great assistance. We may count on small groups to take an airfield or a headquarters behind the enemy lines while we make a frontal assault, but we cannot expect much else from them.

[*This is the first of a series of three articles. The second, to appear next week, will deal with guerrilla resistance in Central Europe.*]

Wallace in Chile

BY MANUEL SEOANE

Santiago, Chile, April 10

THE Vice-President's visit was a great event for Chileans—not only for the well-informed minority which is familiar with the personality of Henry Wallace but for the millions who saw in him the second highest official of the richest and most powerful country on earth. They were pleasantly surprised to see him alight from his plane, simply dressed, his hair in disorder, smiling, and announcing that he wanted to visit the houses of workers and to find out about the life of the poorest peasants on Chilean farms.

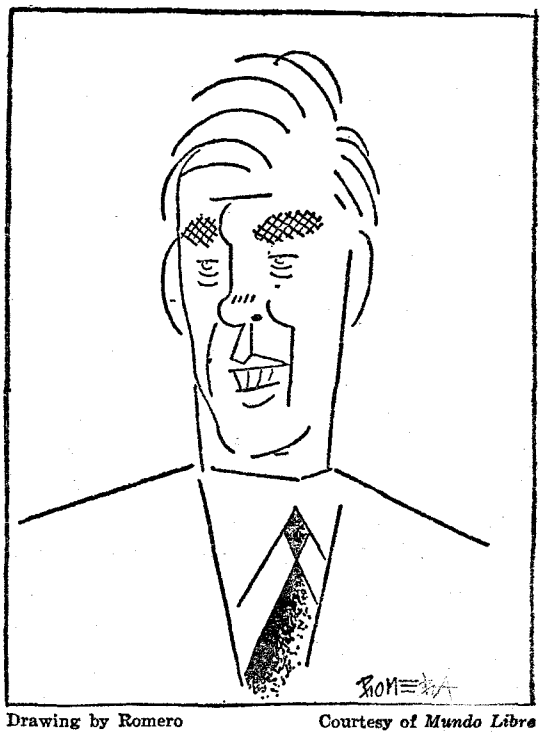
For the first time a prominent North American was among them, speaking a language of humanity and sincerity. His words were in strange contrast to the florid eloquence of Latin Americans. During his whole stay in Chile he delivered seven speeches, totaling 882 words. But he made every word count. Before the Parliament of Chile he said, in Spanish:

> The people continue their thousand-year march, a revolutionary march in the purest sense, whose aim is to affirm, here on earth, the dignity of the human spirit. This march must go on until mankind is free from the oppression of hunger.

A few days later, speaking before hundreds of workers in the coal-mining district of Lota, he said:

> Therefore, and even if some people go on talking about the American Century, I insist that we are entering the Century of the Common Man. And I say that there is no place in that century for any nation which, under any pretext, considers itself rightfully able to dominate or exploit any other nation. The old nations, the stronger nations, may have the privilege of helping the youngest ones to develop their economic resources, but not under the shadow of economic or military imperialism.

Some people knew that Wallace had already expressed those ideas in his own country. But it was different to hear them directly from him. Looking at him, the miners



Drawing by Romero Courtesy of *Mundo Libre*

did not feel that they were listening to an expression of diplomacy or politics. Those straightforward words came from the heart, from strong inner convictions.

I know whereof I speak when I say that the sympathetic personality of Wallace, his conception of the world of tomorrow, his evident hatred of injustice have done more to strengthen Chilean friendship for the United States than the hundreds of phrases disseminated in Latin America through the channels of official propaganda. There is in Chile, as in many other parts of Latin America, a great skepticism about the foreign policy of the United States. Henry Wallace has cleared the atmosphere of bitter memories, of distrust and resentment.

The fact that Mr. Wallace did not visit all the republics of South America has not been overlooked. He did not go to Argentina, where the reactionary dictator Castillo fights against the powerful democratic feeling of a traditionally democratic nation. He did not go to Brazil, whose government, though at war with the Axis, is a dictatorial regime. But before he returns to the United States he will cross countries where democracy is a mask worn by unscrupulous dictators seeking money and international prestige and ready to simulate support of the democratic cause of the United Nations in order to escape the difficulties of the hour.

One may hope that Mr. Wallace's good judgment will enable him to avoid the dangers inherent in such a heterogeneous tour. The most important thing for him to do is to convey to the government and the people of the United States, as he undoubtedly will, the sentiments of the men and women of Latin America—that they view this war as a death struggle against fascism, that they pray that the United Nations may remain loyal to their promises to the peoples of the earth.

Henry Wallace has renewed our faith in the pro-

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gressive policy of President Roosevelt and of the men who surround him. He has awakened enormous hope—and thereby incurred a great responsibility. If that hope is extinguished, nothing will restore the mutual confidence upon which real inter-American cooperation in war and in peace must be based.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE Stockholm *Aftonbladet* is pro-Nazi, and so is its Berlin correspondent, Gunnar Müllern. Nevertheless, Mr. Müllern wrote in the *Aftonbladet* of May 7, "There is general unrest in Germany, caused chiefly by the 'total mobilization.'" He added that the wave of disorders had recently resulted in some arrests, "among them that of former Chancellor Luther, whose Nazi sympathies are well known."

We do not know why Dr. Luther was apprehended, but the source of the unrest which has been brought to a head by the total mobilization is perfectly clear. It is the threatened extinction of the middle class, with all the social changes that would imply. The fate of the middle class is at present the dominant—and the most agitating—theme in Germany, the focal point of the wave of unrest. Since this column first referred to the matter two weeks ago, the explanations, reassurances, warnings, and polemics on the subject have become more and more numerous and vehement—proof enough that the bitterness of the millions affected has mounted rather than subsided.

The official line remains the same: the stores and businesses and handicraft shops that have now been closed will be reopened after the war. We are no Bolsheviks, say the Nazi chiefs, wanting to liquidate a class, least of all the middle class. On the contrary, National Socialism always has been and always will be the best friend and protector of the middle class. And therefore, declared Gauleiter Rainer of Carinthia, "I demand of business men that they be more reasonable and farsighted. I demand that they maintain discipline."

But on April 8 the *Schwarze Korps* published a brutal outbreak which ran astonishingly athwart the official line. This paper is the organ of the S. S. and the mighty Himmler and therefore is not subject to the directions of a little man named Goebbels. It breathes the very spirit of that cold, fanatical troop whose members have severed all social relationships. The *Schwarze Korps* asserted that people must stop speaking up for the middle class. The middle class, it said, is a fossil—"a mere catchword left over from democratic days"—and belongs in a museum. "After the war we must completely reconstruct our economic life. The ghost of the middle class must be packed away in mothballs. The middle class is dead, and the German nation, for that reason, is all the more alive."

As you see, even in a dictatorship there is not 100 per cent uniformity. Indeed, the recklessness with which Himmler's department went counter to Goebbels's in this matter is sensational. Serious conflicts must lie behind this public difference of opinion on a question which is agitating the whole nation.

The leading Bavarian newspaper, the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten,* carried this paragraph on March 20:

> Who does not know that omniscient man with the sorrowful expression on his face who possesses innumerable first-class sources of information and is always looking for an audience, which he finds only too often. If he is right once, then of course his associates consider him infallible. . . . In this serious hour we beg our people to do things differently from in 1918 and not to listen to the sly treacherous whisperings, the evil bleatings, of political charlatans, traitors, and scoundrels. These creatures always act the worried patriot, hiding their envy and hatred of the leading personalities of the state and party behind the mask of "experience and reading" and a lot of other intellectual trash. . . . Punish them mercilessly! When they repeat a rumor, ask them which enemy radio they got it from, and report them to the police.

The North German *Hannoversche Zeitung* of March 26 discussed the same topic.

> At all times enemy propaganda has been favored by the fact that nothing seems to be too impossible or too stupid to be believed, at least in part, by some people. The prohibition against listening to foreign broadcasts is a quarantine against moral bacteria which have been let loose by the enemy. But through some stupidity smaller foci occasionally develop within the country. They too must be watched.

And Gauleiter Rainer of Carinthia spoke as follows on April 4:

> There are some scoundrels among us who whisper, "If Adolf Hitler had not come to power, there would be no war today." I say, neither would there be a German Reich and people, but only a Jewish colony where the hate instincts of subhuman beings would rage. We shall not hasten the end of the war by being disloyal to our Führer. . . . The enemy tries to undermine the German people's firmness, seeking for some inner weakness, some way of separating us from the Führer. The enemy calculates on finding representatives of the old parties still among us. He is mistaken.

No comment.

According to the Stockholm Veckojournalen, *the latest popular joke in Berlin is in question-and-answer form: "What is the briefest German joke? We shall win the war."*

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BOOKS and the ARTS

In Distrust of Merits

Strengthened to live, strengthened to die for
medals and positioned victories?
They're fighting, fighting, fighting the blind
man who thinks he sees,—
who cannot see that the enslaver is
enslaved; the hater, harmed. O shining O
firm star, O tumultuous
ocean lashed till small things go
as they will, the mountainous
wave makes us who look, know

depth. Lost at sea before they fought! O
star of David, star of Bethlehem,
O black imperial lion
of the Lord—emblem
of a risen world—be joined at last, be
joined. There is hate's crown beneath which all is
death; there's love's without which none
is king; the blessed deeds bless
the halo. As contagion
of sickness makes sickness,

contagion of trust can make trust. They're
fighting in deserts and caves, one by
one, in battalions and squadrons;
they're fighting that I
may yet recover from the disease, My
Self; some have it lightly, some will die. "Man's
wolf to man? And we devour
ourselves? The enemy could not
have made a greater breach in our
defenses. One pilot-

ing a blind man can escape him, but
Job disheartened by false comfort knew,
that nothing is so defeating
as a blind man who
can see. O alive who are dead, who are
proud not to see, O small dust of the earth
that walks so arrogantly,
trust begets power and faith is
an affectionate thing. We
vow, we make this promise

to the fighting—it's a promise—"We'll
never hate black, white, red, yellow, Jew,
Gentile, Untouchable." We are
not competent to
make our vows. With set jaw they are fighting,
fighting, fighting,—some we love whom we know,
some we love but know not—that
hearts may feel and not be numb.
It cures me; or am I what
I can't believe in? Some

in snow, some on crags, some in quicksands,
little by little, much by much, they
are fighting fighting fighting that where
there was death there may
be life. "When a man is prey to anger,
he is moved by outside things; when he holds
his ground in patience patience
patience, that is action or
beauty," the soldier's defense
and hardest armor for

the fight. The world's an orphans' home. Shall
we never have peace without sorrow?
without pleas of the dying for
help that won't come? O
quiet form upon the dust, I cannot
look and yet I must. If these great patient
dyings—all these agonies
and woundbearings and blood shed—
can teach us how to live, these
dyings were not wasted.

Hate-hardened heart, O heart of iron,
iron is iron till it is rust.
There never was a war that was
not inward; I must
fight till I have conquered in myself what
causes war, but I would not believe it.
I inwardly did nothing.
O Iscariotlike crime!
Beauty is everlasting
and dust is for a time.

MARIANNE MOORE

Study in Cynicism

THE MACHIAVELLIANS: DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM. By James Burnham. The John Day Company. $2.50.

THERE is a kind of historical inevitability about James Burnham's new book. Both his own history and the history of our age demanded that it be written. He had to write it because he had previously produced "The Managerial Revolution" and in analyzing the rise of a new technical oligarchy had betrayed a degree of political cynicism which required further elaboration. The history of our age demanded it because our whole bourgeois era, now drawing to a tragic close, has been so filled with political and moral sentimentality that a realistic reaction was inevitable; it was probably just as inevitable that the realistic movement should overstep the mark and fall into the abyss of cynicism.

Mr. Burnham is a very able man, and he explores the abyss into which he has fallen with great skill; but he cannot finally hide the fact that it is an abyss. The sentimentality against which Mr. Burnham protests is the uncritical accept-

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ance of the professed goals of politics and aims of politicians as the real ones. A proper realism would know how to discount the element of pretension in man's political life, as indeed in his whole life, and how to discriminate between truth and pretense. Cynicism becomes so obsessed with the dishonesty of human behavior, particularly the dishonesty of political leaders, that it proceeds to disavow all normative principles of political life. This is what Mr. Burnham calls scientific politics. He hails Machiavelli as the founder of this school of science and presents Mosca, Michels, Sorel, and Pareto as its most noted exemplars and himself as its contemporary exponent.

Let us be quite clear what is at stake in the issue which Mr. Burnham raises. It is the question whether men are totally depraved. Mr. Burnham thinks they are. Sometimes he allows slight qualifications and declares that "the *primary* subject matter of political science is the struggle for social power" and that "the *primary* object of every élite or ruling class is to maintain its own power and privilege." But the actual argument of the book rests upon the assumption that the primary object is the *only* one. At least no word suggests that men might have a significant mixture of motives and that the disinterested motives may play a real role in life and not be mere pretension.

Mr. Burnham begins with a comparison between Dante and Machiavelli. In this comparison he assumes that Dante's "De Monarchia" is in reality nothing but a Ghibelline propaganda tract and that Dante's ostensible interest in a universal political order is nothing but eyewash. Naturally he finds Machiavelli's brutally honest analysis of political motives much more acceptable by comparison. Mr. Burnham is quite right in insisting that Machiavelli's bad reputation in Western history is not altogether to his discredit but to ours; for men do not like to be reminded of their dishonesties and pretensions. But he does not realize that the normative principles of universal justice which Dante seeks to elaborate are something more than eyewash; even though Dante, in common with most moralists, whether religious or secular, fails to realize the degree to which historical circumstance and egoistic interest color the statement of these ideals.

Mr. Burnham is convinced that what Marxists call "ideology" and what in the jargon of Pareto is known as "derivation"—that is, the pretended ideal reason which we (particularly, however, the rulers) give for our interested action—is nothing but a lie. This is his doctrine of total depravity. One may question whether a cynical reaction to the moral sentimentality of our culture is much more mature than the sentimentality.

Though Mr. Burnham believes that a genuinely "scientific" political science must reject normative principles and merely describe what is and what works, he does have, in common with some though not all of his Machiavellians, an interest in justice. He believes that justice is best served if rulers are resisted. He wants to make his realism available to the people as well as the rulers in order that tyranny may be avoided. But if his account of human nature is correct, it is difficult to understand how anyone below the level of the élite can profit from this science. Nor is it plausible to call upon the élite to be more farsighted, for rational foresight implies a freedom from the immediate operation of the power impulse which his theory denies. Furthermore, the conclusions of the political scientist should be as suspect as the pretensions of the ruler. If his account of human nature is correct, why should we not discount anything he has to say about the operation of political forces, on the ground that his conclusions are nothing else than dishonest pretensions which hide the power impulses of the social scientist? To be sure, Mr. Burnham ostensibly confines his study to human nature as it expresses itself in political life, and disavows the study of human nature in general. But his affirmations about political man rest upon inferences and conclusions about man himself. If political rulers are as void of a mixture of disinterested and interested motives as he thinks, there is no reason to believe that political scientists are any more capable of a disinterested devotion to the truth.

The depth of the abyss into which Mr. Burnham has fallen is well illustrated by his speculation upon whether "rulers" can be "scientific." Rulers must deceive, he argues, but they must not be deceived by their own lies or "believe in their own myths. When this happens they are no longer scientific. Sincerity is bought at the price of truth." The man who tells a lie knowingly is truthful, in other words, but the self-deceived man is not. This is Nietzsche's creed of the honest lie. (For some reason Mr. Burnham has left Nietzsche out of his galaxy of Machiavellians, though Nietzsche knew a great deal about the self-deceptions of the bourgeois world.) The difficulty with this theory of the honest lie is apparent in our contemporary history. The democracies are not as devoted to the cause of justice as they say they are. National self-interest is a more powerful motive than the democracies admit. About that Mr. Burnham is quite right. But the Nazi propaganda proves the futility of escape from these partly unconscious and partly conscious dishonesties by making the lie more conscious and explicit. By disavowing the standard of honesty to which a decent man is partly loyal, though not as loyal as he pretends or believes, nothing is gained but a new standard of dishonesty.

His hope of making the ruling class more farsighted and willing to "open its ranks to able and ambitious newcomers from below" means that he thinks political "science" can be used not merely to direct the power impulse of the rulers but to check it in the interest of long-range objectives. But why should a selfish oligarch restrict his power impulse, or imperil the interest of his family by taking in ambitious newcomers from below? He could do it only if the dominance of the power impulse is interpreted in collective rather than individual terms. The primary concern of the ruler would have to be not his rule but the rule of his class. But if it is the collective power impulse which is dominant, why may not the collective egotism of the community rather than that of the oligarchy be the dominant force? In that case a ruler might be persuaded to invigorate the oligarchy not primarily in order to maintain it but because he regards the reinvigoration from below as good for the community. But if such considerations ever enter the minds of the rulers, the absolute distinction between the ruler and the community is lost. Why may not Mr. Churchill have proved to be a better ruler than the "Munich men" precisely because his primary interest was the preservation of the British Empire and not the preservation of a class? One might go farther and assume that in

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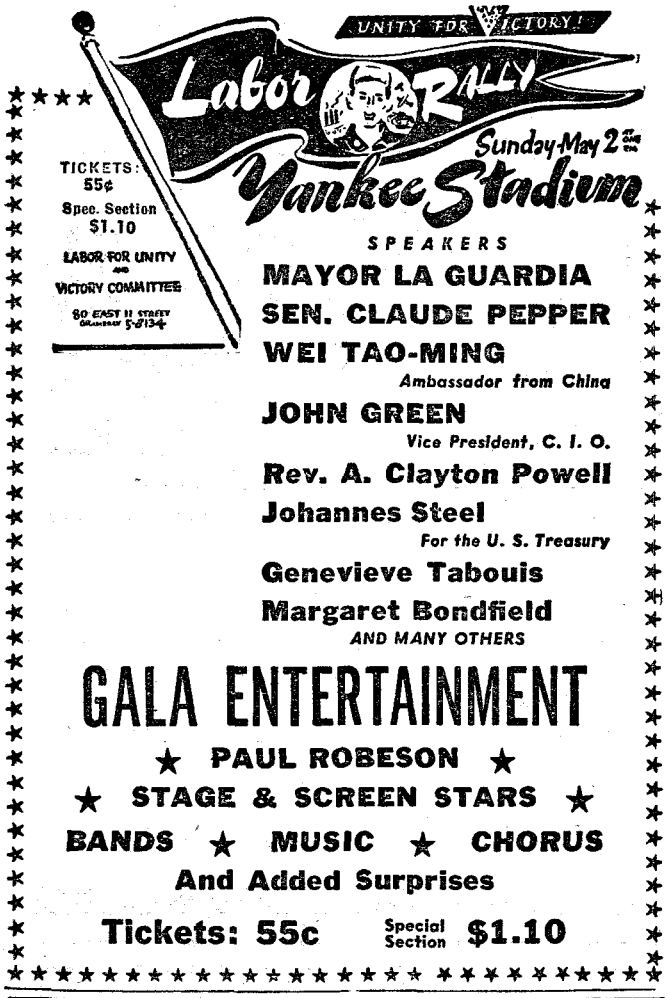

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the future they will be the best leaders of a nation whose primary interest is not the pride of a nation but the mutual security of all nations. Such farsightedness may serve the nation best. But it is possible only if there is more transcendence over the narrow power impulse than Mr. Burnham suggests. If it does not exist, our whole civilization is doomed in any event.

Mr. Burnham understands that even democracies have oligarchies. But here again he is led astray by the depth of his cynicism. He assumes an absolute distinction between the élite and the people even in a democracy. But he does not recognize that in a democracy, despite its imperfections, there is such a constant shift in the oligarchy, both in the political and economic sphere, through pressure from below that the oligarchy is kept fluid. It is kept so fluid in fact that his concept of élite does not really apply. Furthermore, such justice as a democracy has is achieved not only by pressure from below but by tension between various oligarchies. We actually possess—despite the pretension and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy—much more of what Mr. Burnham desires than could be achieved by his cynicism. The idea that the people rule is actually a normative principle in our life and not a mere pretension. If cynicism reduces it to a mere pretension it will lose its normative force.

Even Mr. Burnham's cynicism in regard to the ignorance of the masses is too extravagant. It is quite true that the masses lack the knowledge to survey all the intricacies of government. But the wearer of a shoe always knows better than the most expert cobbler whether or not the shoe pinches. That is a form of wisdom which Mr. Burnham has left out of account in his reckoning. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Hollywood View

TUNIS EXPEDITION. By Colonel Darryl F. Zanuck. Random House. $2.

COLONEL ZANUCK supervised the taking of motion pictures of the Tunisian campaign and got right into the thick of things. With sure Hollywood instinct he sensed immediately that this war was one of the most superb scenarios ever produced. When he landed at the African airfield, he looked about him and saw R. A. F. pilots, French aviators, exhausted American soldiers, dazed Nazi prisoners, and he exclaimed, "What a cast!" The next night he saw a column of doughboys advancing in the moonlight, and they looked for all the world, he says, like "that great scene from 'The Big Parade.'" He describes a British major as looking "like a younger version of George Arliss." He particularly admired General Giraud, who "stands out among the others like a twenty-four sheet."

Although Colonel Zanuck was very busy "contacting" people, he found time also for psychological observations. He noticed that when the bombs were dropping he had a tendency to flatten out behind some obstruction, any obstruction, and he explained the phenomenon this way: "But the fact that you run for cover and duck and hold your breath and hug the dirt and say a quick silent prayer at the very moment of acute danger has nothing whatever to do with fear." Aside from the bombs, there were other hard-

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ships. At one point he records that his "foot goes to sleep painfully." And he is constantly plagued by the lack of cigars. "I am now down to cigarettes," he notes, "and anybody can tell you that for a cigar smoker that is next to the kiss of death."

Damon Runyon, in his introduction, says Colonel Zanuck should have been a newspaperman himself, because he combines the features of Richard Harding Davis and Floyd Gibbons. Mr. Runyon does not say whether he means the best features. The Zanuck work is indispensable for anyone who feels the need of a Hollywood view of the war.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Russian Journey

ROUND TRIP TO RUSSIA. By Walter Graebner. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.

WALTER GRAEBNER has done something almost unprecedented; he was in Russia for only four months and he has produced a first-class book about it. He makes more sense than many who spent years in the country. His success is due to his absence of pretension and the simplicity and objectivity of his approach.

Graebner made up for not knowing Russian by trying at every opportunity to talk to Russians through interpreters, or in the case of the better-educated, in German or English. In the midst of the Battle of Stalingrad, when sentiments in Russia were tense, when Muscovites pointed to the five first rows at the ballet nightly filled with foreigners with sarcastic remarks like "Is that the second front?" Graebner went through the Moscow Park of Culture and Rest and stopped people at random, talked with them, asked them what they thought of their regime, of the war, of their allies.

Several profound but often-missed truths about the Russian people Graebner discovered in this way, and he expounds them simply and clearly: (1) Though the Soviet people believe in their system, they have no intention of forcing it on others. Their attention is concentrated mainly on the development of their own vast, immeasurably rich country. (2) Russians are not preoccupied with making money. Their standard of living, though low in relation to that in the United States, is secure. (3) While pressure and discipline are used to make the Russians fight, "the government could not force men to be brave . . . [nor could it] sustain the spirit of a people if the people were spiritually opposed to it. There seems every likelihood, therefore, that the Russians are working and fighting so magnificently more because they love their country, have faith in their system and in their leaders, than because they have been forced to accept the ruthless dictates of the Kremlin." (4) "Russians seem to get along with one another better under socialism than Americans do under capitalism." This is due largely to the absence of competitive spirit.

The author's travels in Russia took him up through Iran, across the Caspian to Baku, up the Volga past Stalingrad on the eve of its siege, and on to Moscow; back to Iran by plane. While traveling and while working in Moscow in the Metropole Hotel, Graebner kept his eyes and ears open and tells what he saw and heard like the good reporter he is. His book lacks the heroics of Caldwell, the flippancies of Alice Moats,

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the mature rumination of Russian-born Alexander Werth. But it surpasses all other books about war-time Russia in clear thinking and good reporting, with the possible exception of "We're in This War with Russia" by Wallace Carroll.

In one important respect I believe Graebner missed the truth. He overstates the position of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Possibly one reason was that he did not stay long enough, or know enough bureaucrats to find out how precarious their position is, how hard they work, and how high is the mortality among them. In one place he implies that educational opportunities for the children of bureaucrats are greater than for the ordinary citizen. This is not so. Admission into all educational institutions in Russia is granted on the basis of competitive examinations, plus physical prerequisites in the case of aviation or other special schools, and party membership for entry into party schools, which train functionaries for the country's all-powerful Communist Party. The bureaucracy in Russia is powerful, but it is very fluid, and so far there are no indications that it has moved in the direction of its self-perpetuation unto the second generation.

Graebner's remarks on religion in Russia are sound. It may be that "as the Soviet Union grows older it is taking a less stern attitude toward religion. . . . Many, however, feel that the changed attitude is more a war-time expedient than the real thing." Graebner himself believes that the Kremlin is probably just as anti-religious as it ever was. I would agree with him if religion were defined in terms of the Moslem, Orthodox, Roman, or other leading churches. I would add, however, that a new religion of a sort is growing up rapidly in Russia. Certain philosophical and sociological ideas a believed instead of studied. They are ossifying into a cred which people do not thoroughly understand but in whic they have faith. In a decade, or two or three, this will, I b lieve, crystallize into a new religion which will replace th old Orthodox Church in Russia, and in the hearts and sou of Russians, just as at many times in history new religio have arisen and replaced older ones which no longer satisfie the needs of the people.

A small number of minor errors have crept into the bool For example, half the people in Russia do not speak Ge man; far more than one oil well in ten in Baku is in oper tion. The forty-nine photographs are well chosen and giv a very good glimpse of war-time Russia. The book reads we and makes sense, and is to be highly recommended.

JOHN SCOTT

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New Physics and Old Philosophy

PHYSICS AND PHILOSOPHY. By Sir James Jeans. Th Macmillan Company. $2.75.

IT IS fortunate that clear ideas as to the nature and impor of the method of science are not a prerequisite for usin it successfully. Those who engage in scientific research de velop habits of good workmanship through the force o example and tradition; they are usually too busy to acquir those disciplined habits of mind indispensable for a jus estimate of the logic of their procedure. In consequence even eminent scientists can make unholy spectacles of them selves when they don the mantle of philosophy and attemp to discuss the broad implications of their specialized labors They then frequently adopt, with a show of argument, th interpretations of science and nature sanctioned by the un criticized heritage of their local culture. But like a chaplain' prayer at the end of a political convention, the philosophie ceremonially professed by most men of science are largel irrelevant to the accredited body of scientific knowledge.

Sir James Jeans's latest book offers fresh evidence for these observations. In it he aims to determine the bearing of recent developments in physics upon certain large questions of knowledge and reality. Although he now offers his conclusions with an air of hesitation, neither his conclusions nor his arguments are essentially different from those contained in his earlier "The Mysterious Universe." Jeans continues to find the universe around him mysterious. For according to him, physics can at best discover only the *pattern* of events; since our minds cannot step outside their prison-house of the body, we can never hope to understand the "real nature of things." Theoretical physics is construed as describing only "our observations on nature" and not nature itself. The moral of the fable seems to be that the more physics succeeds in disentangling the structure of events the less we really "know" what the world is like.

However, consistency is not one of the failings of Jeans's philosophy, and such a solipsistic skepticism is not his final word. He dissents vigorously from views such as those of Eddington, according to which the laws of nature can be deduced from the constitution of the human mind. He maintains, surely to his reader's surprise, that if we wish to dis-

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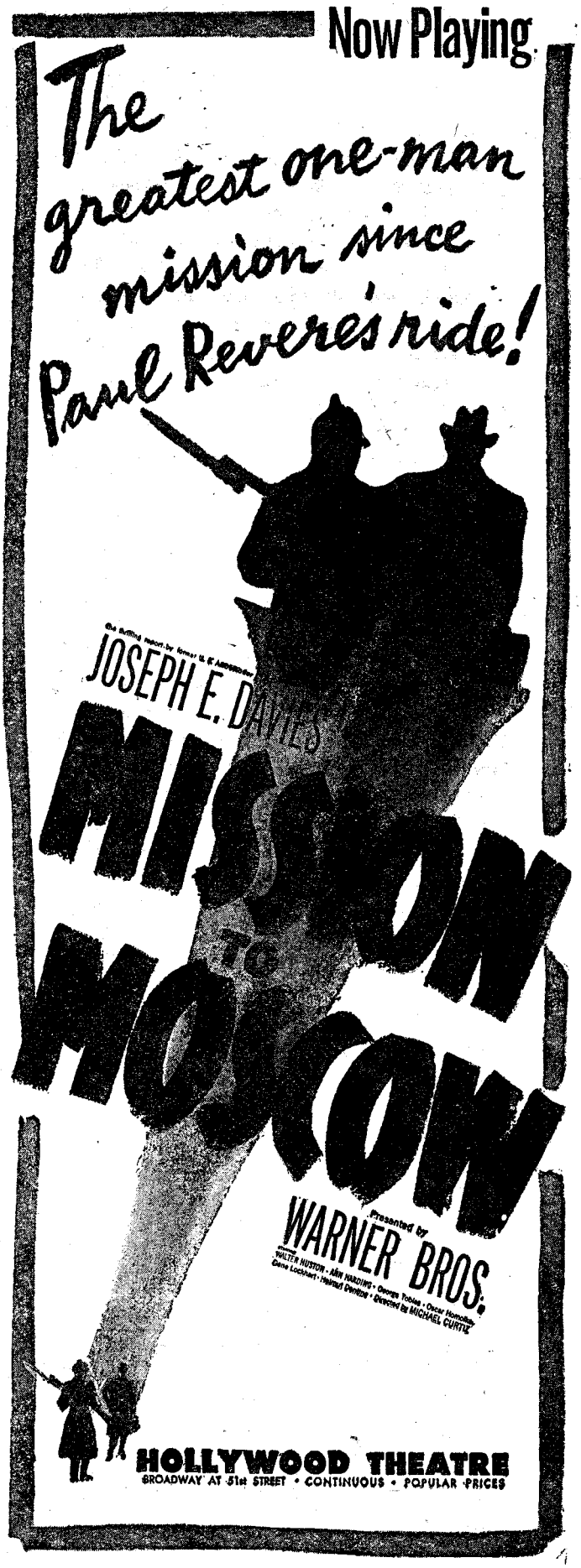
cover the truth about nature, "the only sound method is to go out into the world and question nature directly." To be sure, the events in our daily life are rigorously determined in an "inaccessible substratum of nature," a substratum whose existence is said to be implied by the formulas of mathematical physics. On the other hand, although inaccessible, the processes which go on in it are at bottom only our "mental constructions." In the end, therefore, "reality" can be better described as mental rather than as material. The mystery of the universe, at least for Jeans, is thus simply the impenetrable mystery of his own mind.

This unusually incoherent philosophy, though claiming the support of modern physics, in fact rests upon a systematic use of dubious figures of speech and bad puns. Some illustrations will make this evident. Jeans's conviction that the real nature of things must forever elude our grasp is based on the image of human minds locked behind the opaque walls of their bodies. But such a picture of the mind makes nonsense of everything he reports about the progress of science, and when he is off his guard it is rejected by Jeans himself. When he asserts that nature consists of our "perceptions," he is surely playing upon the double meaning of the word, which may denote the *objects* of our sensory apprehensions as well as our *apprehensions* of objects. In any case, it is the planet Venus which revolves around the sun, and not our perceptions of Venus around our perceptions of the sun. Similarly, when Jeans declares that the relativity theory deals with the measures of things and not with things themselves, he is taking advantage of the ambiguity of the term "measure," which may signify a *relational property* of a thing as well as the process or record of *estimating* that property. Only in the first sense of the term is the relativity theory concerned with the measures of things; but only by substituting the second sense for the first can Jeans find support for his "mentalistic" interpretation of nature. Again, when Jeans maintains that as a consequence of the atomicity of radiation a precise knowledge of the outer world becomes impossible, he is misleading his readers. For the highly specialized sense in which "precision" is excluded by quantum mechanics does not imply, as Jeans declares, that the notion of causal determination must be abandoned for the familiar world of daily affairs. As for his final conclusion that the "material universe" is little else than our "mental construct," he himself recognizes the worth of such a transsubstantiation when he remarks: "Being hit by a golf ball hurts just as much now that we know that it is little more than empty space."

The present book can therefore be taken only as a model of what popular science should *not* be. Its accounts of technical matters, although intended for the layman, are so perversely obscure that several professional physicists have found parts of the exposition unintelligible; and its statements of views which have been held in the history of philosophic thought distort those views almost beyond recognition. Neither colorful pictorial representations of the conclusions of physics nor irresponsible philosophical speculations concerning them are a substitute for a sober description of the way modern theories of physics function and of what they achieve. The world seems full enough of bewilderment and genuine puzzles without the confusions introduced by inadequate popularizations of science. ERNEST NAGEL



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DRAMA

"TOMORROW THE WORLD" (Ethel Barrymore Theater) is a tract for the times. It poses the question whether the children of Nazi Germany can be reeducated and how. The writing is earnest, obvious, and on the whole pedestrian. The situation, however—that of a Nazi boy of twelve set down in a Middle Western American household—is dramatic and provocative. And the acting of every member of the cast is so very good, the direction so expert, that the play in performance takes on an emotional force and subtlety which the lines lack—and often indeed interfere with.

A great deal of the emotional charge, interestingly enough, is contributed by the spectators, who become so personally involved in the situation on the stage that when the easygoing, lovable professor (Ralph Bellamy) is roused to such fury by the behavior of the Nazi brat (Skippy Homeier) that he tries to strangle him, the sense of pleasurable participation on the part of the audience becomes positively frightening. (In one of the few subtle lines of the piece the point is made—and alarmingly demonstrated by the audience—that the Nazi boy brings out the worst in everyone with whom he comes in contact.) At that point the play becomes more than a play. One has the feeling that a public attitude is being set up—and one sighs with relief when in the dénouement the scales tip to the decent, human conclusion that the Nazi brat, in spite of everything, including his attempt to kill Nancy Nugent, can be reclaimed. Then one is grateful for the earnestness and good-will of the authors of what might so easily have been a hymn of hate and extermination.

Only after the curtain goes down does one realize that it is a child actor, Skippy Homeier, who has created—and saved—a highly explosive situation. Certainly he has excellent support, but he is nevertheless the crucial figure in this contemporary morality play. And what a tense, skinny little figure he is. With the unwitting cooperation of the audience he makes real what is today perhaps the most tragic character in the world—the German child who has been corrupted by Goebbels, who is capable of being "saved" but whose salvation depends on the rest of us and the degree to which we resist a still incipient but basically similar corruption.

MARGARET MARSHALL

OTHER RESORT ADVERTISING on page 639 and Inside Back Cover

FILMS

"DESERT VICTORY" is the first completely admirable combat film, and if only film makers and their bosses can learn the simple lessons it so vigorously teaches, its service to the immediate future and to history will be incalculably great. The most heartening thing about it is that its lessons are learnable. It takes something approaching great talent to learn from great talent, but the men who made this film are not men of great talent. They are simply men of intelligence, courage, and aesthetic honor who have been given a chance to use their abilities in the recording of a worthy theme. That they were given the apparently unhindered chance is as important as the fact that they knew how to use it; on both counts, the makers of American films have virtually everything to learn.

It is so good, and so simply good, that it is hard to do more than urge that you see it. In the camera work, the cutting, the music and sound, the commentary, it is a clean, simple demonstration that creative imagination is the only possible substitute for the plainest sort of good sense—and is, after all, merely an intensification of good sense to the point of incandescence. There is hardly one moment in the collaboration of cameras that implies a truly creative eye, that makes a subject be itself with the intensity of a diamond; but on the other hand there is hardly a shot which by any sort of dramatizing, prearrangement, or sentimentalization gets in the way of the high honest average chance for magnificence which any face or machine or light or terrain possesses, left to its own devices. The captured German film hits a similar level.

The cutting—here I include the broad scenario—is a shade or two more perceptive, though again it gets along, proudly and well, with plain sense and sensitiveness instead of brilliance. It is distinguished from most cutting simply in being the work of men who have thought, felt, and cared a great deal about the power and honesty of given film images, in themselves simply, in juxtaposition and careful series, in rhythm, and in a rhythmic and spatial whole. The results of this sort of thought and feeling, carved out without compromise, are inevitable. Whereas the average non-fiction film, even if the material is well photographed—which it seldom is—moves in great blotches of ill-punctuated gabble, filled with uh's, ah's, and as-I-was-sayings, this moves at worst in clean, resonant sentences, which construct irreducible paragraphs, and develops, at discreet intervals, the small fine poems of which honesty without inspiration is capable. Very notable, I think, is the fact that here, for the first time in a strictly record film, record has been used without abuse to create an organized whole rather than a gifted, spotty sprawl. (The camera work in "June 13th," for instance, is more sophisticated, but overall, "June 13th" is diffuse and a little posterish, without anything like the solidity and internal rhyming of the British film.)

Sound and music commentary follow, here, the same pattern: that is, they are used when and as they should be. The music goes a little vulgar at the end, but there are two movements—the industrial build-up and the build-up of the barrage—which almost for the first time are made in intelligent relations to natural sound, and which spike rather than water the screen's images. The commentary is especially worth American study. The normal native commentary, well measuring our loss of cinematic instinct, heckles and humiliates the screen image, and pounds it, like the nagging of a

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shrew, a salesman, a preacher, a demagogue, a pimp, or all five combined; we use films to illustrate the rotten words we worship. Here, for once, the words really illuminate when they are used at all; and here, for once, the voice is right which speaks them. The natural sound rises, in one scene, to a solid attempt to annihilate the audience which a friend of mine has properly compared with Beethoven. The second time I heard it, it was muted into a defeat of this intention. I urge that by every means possible you require that it be given full blast. It is the first serious attempt to make an audience participate in the war. No audience should be spared it.

These men have taken painful care with every foot of this film. The attitude of the average American film maker—and his boss—will, of course, be conditioned by the fact that neither knows much about moving pictures, about care and honesty, or about the great potential sensitiveness of the general audience, toward which they have been acting like house-broken Nazis for the past twenty years. But that even they must suspect that the general audience is capable of receiving better than they know how to give is suggested by the mere rumor that Darryl Zanuck has refused to see this film, and that its release was delayed in favor of his own shorn lamb.

"Desert Victory" is a stunning textbook on how to make a non-fiction war film. "Hangmen Also Die," "This Land Is Mine," and "The Moon Is Down" open the question whether serious fiction films on the subject had better be made at all. I would believe that plain melodramas, through their innate artificiality and unpretentiousness, have a good right to exist and may even, within their special formalism, give a remote but decent echo of the truth. I can even respectfully conceive of the attempt at a head-on-embodiment of the truth. But that would be a much more difficult and serious job than the makers of these three films realize. It would require a sensitiveness which they totally lack to the speed with which the noblest reported actions and principles can become the most vulgar sentiment, especially as served to civilians at a comfortable remove. It would require an ingenuity which they seem never to have conceived of in finding and developing kinds of acting, setting, and lighting which might render an audience incapable of feeling, first, that all they are seeing is, after all, only a picture, and second—and still worse—that the occupied nations are filled, not with the terrific human and historical chemistry which is in fact at work in them, but with a pack of posturing Donlevys and Laughtons and Traverses spouting inhuman lines like "You cannot keel de speerit off a free pipples." Seriously, I think such shows can create a dulness of heart, a schizophrenia, from which we might never recover. Whether I am right or wrong about that, I find this sort of stodgy heroism, about such subjects, incredulously indecent.

Of the three films, Lang and Bert Brecht's "Hangmen" is the most interesting. They have chosen to use brutality, American gangster idiom, and Middle High German cinematic style to get it across, and it is rich with clever melodrama, over-*maestoso* directional touches, and the sort of *Querschnitt* sophistication for detail which Lang always has. It is most interesting as a memory album. There's a heroine straight out of the Berlin of the middle twenties, and the Nazis are also archaic, nicely presented types: the swaggering homosexual, the cannonball-headed plainclothesman, the tittering, torturing androgyne who, one can imagine, is a revenge on some boyhood misery of Lang's in a Teutonic school. They are all conceivable, as Nazis; but they are all old-fashioned. The New Order has produced men of a new kind, and it would be more to the point to show some of them.

"This Land Is Mine" eschews physical terror in favor of mental, and tries to give an exposition of the obligations of free men under those circumstances. That is a courageous but foredoomed idea. I doubt, first, whether physical and mental terror and obligation can in this context be separated. You cannot afford to dislocate or internationalize your occupied country; or to try to sell it to Americans by making your citizens as well-fed, well-dressed, and comfortably idiomatic as Americans; or to treat the show to the corrupted virtuosities of studio lighting and heavy-ballet composition. This film, like Lang's, is filled with bitter, anachronistic, interesting talent under pressures, but it is a question where the pressure begins and the self-deception ends.

"The Moon Is Down" is a stale quarrel by now which I see no point in reheating. I respect Steinbeck's insistence that both the Nazis and their enemies are human beings, but too many things get in the way of any proof of the fact. Colonel Lanser, as written and played, is very intelligent, but poorly representative. The sort of Nazi Steinbeck must have intended is post-humanistic and unprecedented, as Walter Slezak brilliantly suggests, with far less to use, in "This Land Is Mine." Irony, I am told, comes from *eironikos*, which could be translated as false naivete. Steinbeck's "little people" use it so much that they become false and naive out of all conscious proportions. So the irony itself becomes unpalatable, and the people become dehumanized victims of a well-intended, unconscious patronage. Worse still, they become stagy—in the worst recent (Group Theater) tradition—with their bursts of song during executions and their scornful smiles, which so falsely dismay Nazi soldiers. To state frankly your deep fear of torture or death ought to be an advance over the traditional false-heroics. Instead, it becomes its own kind of vulgar boast and takes its place in that growing, already over-ripe vocabulary of democratic claptrap which all but destroys our realization that modest heroism is possible, constant, and implicit in this war.

I have inadequate room left to regret an ill-directed nastiness, in my review of "The Human Comedy," which should have been more accurately directed. I think of Clarence Brown, who directed it, in the most praiseworthy and respectful terms, as the man who piloted Garbo's best films and who, before that, made the excellent and bold films "Smoldering Fires" and "The Signal Tower." I have still to insist that he has become a dope, and to offer the negligencies in "The Human Comedy" as proof. But he is a sympathetic and likable casualty rather than the sort of born star-spangled Judas I directed that review against. JAMES AGEE

ART

EXHIBITION OF COLLAGE. At Art of This Century, 30 West Fifty-seventh Street, until May 15.

This is a very amusing exhibition, but except for Laurence Vail's lovely screen and the works of Max Ernst it is rather *papiers collés* than *collages*, that is, bits of paper stuck on paintings instead of entire pictures made of cut-out shapes. The nice thing about *collages* is that they make you feel you could have done them yourself; the trouble with *papiers collés* is that you have to be Picasso. There are some fine examples by him here, and also some nice ones by Baziotes, Pollack, and Reinhard, but where are Braque and Gypsy Rose Lee?

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EVSA MODEL. At the Pinacotheca, 20 West Fifty-seventh Street, until May 1.

Evsa Model is a gay uninteresting painter bearing very little relation to Chirico in spite of the blurb in the catalogue.

JULIO DE DIEGO. At the Nierendorf Gallery, 53 East Fifty-seventh Street, until May 1.

Paintings called Desastres del Alma which live up to their name.

SALVADOR DALI. At M. Knoedler and Company, 14 East Fifty-seventh Street, until May 15.

Dali paints with the most exquisite delicacy the most vulgar subjects. It is a pity; he is so much better than the audience he paints down to. The tiny portrait of his wife is beautiful. His technique is both breathtaking and comfortably familiar, reminding one of those smooth Italian paintings hung always in the dining-rooms of grand English country houses. It is a fascinating question how he can be so good without being great.

JEAN CONNOLLY

MUSIC

THE New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society, which began its season with one extraordinary event, the performances of Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet" conducted by Toscanini, ended it with another, the performances of Bach's St. Matthew Passion conducted by Bruno Walter. At those performances of "Romeo and Juliet" I was left shaken and inarticulate by the first experience of this extraordinary work, and by the manifestation, in what I was hearing, of great human powers—the powers of the composer who had originally created the work in his mind and written down the blueprint for its recreation in living sound, and the powers of the conductor who from this blueprint was producing the living work as I now heard it. I felt the same impact recently again at Toscanini's broadcast performance of Debussy's "La Mer" with the N. B. C. Symphony: the impact of the renewed impression of the unique form and unique effect which the work has as Toscanini conducts it, and the impact of the human powers that had originally imagined the work, the human powers that had now created this living sound of it (and that had moved the orchestra itself to burst into applause at the end of the final rehearsal). At the performance of the St. Matthew Passion, on the other hand, I heard music which was familiar—some of it wonderfully moving, some of it quite dull; and a contourless, characterless performance which had none of the revelatory force of Toscanini's 1934 performances of the Kyrie of the B minor Mass and the closing chorus of the St. Matthew Passion. "I knew the Kyrie," I wrote on that occasion, "only as urged along by Mr. Stoessel, possibly with the thought of four hours to go at the back of his mind. The effect of Toscanini's slow tempo was first shock, then revelation: I was hearing the sounds for the first time in their proper relations of time. And for the first time, also, in proper relations of volume: in place of unrelieved mass there was sensitive moulding of beautiful tone. But also there was this revelation: by the time Bach was saying what he had to say for the seventh or whatever time it was, I knew it was six too many. And I had the same feeling about the closing chorus of the St. Matthew Passion."

I am sure that Tudor's "Dark Elegies," to the music of Mahler's "Kindertotenlieder," which I saw again after a couple of years, has some idea behind it; but that idea doesn't come through the choreography to make sense of what appears to be nonsense—at moments painfully embarrassing nonsense. The work tells no story; it is a formal construction which, according to the note in the program, "mirror[s] the ideas of the songs in the movements of the dancers." But the movements that are effective in relation to situations and actions like those of "Lilac Garden" and "Pillar of Fire" turn out to be inadequate and even absurd in purely formal relations, and very often intrude into the formal construction the connotations they had in those other ballets; and I have yet to see movements and patterns as unrelated to the music's meaning and quality as the ones in "Dark Elegies."

On the other hand I wonder that Tudor is himself not embarrassed by "Gala Performance" to the point of withdrawing it. Ballerinas are vain, jealous creatures; but what should be ridiculed is the truth—that is, the real ways in which they show their vanity and jealousy; and what Tudor ridicules is as false as the lecherous long-haired artists whom the cartoons in Soviet Russian newspapers pictured as opposing the 1936 anti-abortion laws.

I have spoken of Nora Kaye's superb performance in "Pillar of Fire," but not of her beautiful work in classical style, which I have seen in "Giselle" and "Pas de Quatre." In "Les Sylphides" there has been beautiful work also by Rosella Hightower. And Annabelle Lyon is charming both in a classical ballet like "Pas de Quatre" and in things like "Three Virgins and a Devil."

At a performance of "Aida" at the Metropolitan in 1936-37 I had as my guest a lady newly arrived from Europe; and I spent the evening writhing in embarrassment over the singing of the thrown-together odds and ends of a cast, the conducting of a Papi thrown in at the last minute, the shabby rags of palaces and temples that rippled in the Metropolitan's back-stage breezes, the confusion of costumes, the absurdities of stage-management. "All my life," said my guest, "I have waited to hear an opera at the world-famous Metropolitan; at last the day arrives; and I hear a performance which one would not hear even in Paretola"—this being a little place outside Florence, and apparently the archetype of the Italian provincial town.

A few weeks ago I attended a post-season performance of "Aida" at the Metropolitan. In the intervening years the Metropolitan's standards of performance had risen: great works had been carefully prepared, intelligently staged, well sung, conducted by distinguished men. But in "Aida" there were still the rags of palaces and temples rippling in the breezes, the confusion of costumes, the absurdities of stage-management; there were, in the cast, two first-rate singing actors, Pinza and Thorborg, but also Baum, Warren, Roman: Baum, singing well, but rocking on his feet a couple of times as he assumed an attitude of benevolent interest in the goings-on about him, and funnier when he expressed agitation with a few quick staggers and a clutch at the heart; Warren, driving his fine voice and lunging about the stage darkly; Roman—her arms and dumpy figure in a constant state of awkward motion—singing with recently acquired freedom and steadiness, with beauty and fulness of tone, but without much concern for beginning a phrase at the same time as the orchestra, and with outspreading arms calling on the galleries to witness how her voice opened up on high C in the middle of a phrase and held it—while Pelletier held the orchestra until she let go.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

And This, Too, Is a Part of the Record

Dear Sirs: When men who have been fighting on your side for years attack you as one of the "enemy"—as an enemy of progressive ideas—it is, to say the least, rather startling.

Seven years ago I wrote the first nationally syndicated series of newspaper articles on the plight of the Southern share-cropper. Since that time I have contributed to *The Nation* and written a book on Jackson's amazing and thrilling war against the Bank of the United States ("Democracy in the Making"), a book that had the emphatic indorsement of such enemies of "progressive ideas" as Herbert Agar, Claude Bowers, Charles A. Beard, and the *New Republic*. And yet in the face of my long record of championship of the lowly, the humble, the dispossessed and disinherited of the earth, I. F. Stone in *The Nation* of April 17 quotes Senator Guffey as saying he would have the students in our schools know of Jackson's magnificent fight on the powerful Bank of the United States, and then adds: "That is all to the good, but isn't it the very kind of social history *attacked by Hugh Russell Fraser* and the New York *Times?*" (my italics).

In other words, it would be possible for me to write a book revealing new and startling material on the tremendous odds Jackson faced in his fight on the corrupt and arrogant Biddle monopoly and yet, for some obscure reason, not want the students in our schools to get this kind of story!

This question of American history-teaching is not what it appears to be on the surface. Max Lerner in *PM* takes a look at it and says the Committee on American History does not appear to be interested in the "battle of the people." Nonsense. The Sons of the American Revolution take a look at it and say, "Ah, communism in the schools! We must stop that!" Both are wrong. Neither have the slightest conception of what is being taught in the bulk of our schools.

Communism, via American history, is not being taught in our schools, nor is socialism—nor, now get this, is the philosophy of the National Association of Manufacturers. Until this one elementary principle can be grasped, it is utterly impossible to approach the situation intelligently. The truth is that very little—and in some schools *nothing*—is being taught about American history. Half our high-school students do not get an organized course in American history at all.

This is due to the fact that (1) according to Emory Foster, statistician for the United States Office of Education, about 30 per cent of those graduating from senior or junior high schools do not have a course in American history at all, and (2) about half drop out before finishing. Now that statement does not begin to reveal the shocking nature of the problem. The real significance of it lies in the fact that those who do get a course in American history get, too often, a mere course in contemporary problems, plus a generalized discussion of social forces, plus a discussion of a few arbitrarily selected topics in American history. And all this passes for "American history."

Do you suppose that students in such courses get any concept of Jackson's magnificent fight on Nicholas Biddle's monopoly? They do not. The matter generally is not even mentioned. The story of such a thrilling fight smacks too much of mere "facts," and facts are not what Teachers College of Columbia University wants. I put the question about Nicholas Biddle in the questionnaire deliberately. And I found that only 6 per cent of the 7,000 students could even tell who Nicholas Biddle was, or had any idea about him. Yet 71 per cent knew who John D. Rockefeller was. Teachers College has given its indorsement to instruction in current events. And as for Walt Whitman, is it surprising that hundreds of students thought he was Paul Whiteman?

It is the *method* of teaching American history that I am complaining about. And the method of instruction is one adopted by the educational psychologists at Teachers College in the early 20's. It is sometimes referred to as "teaching history backward." That is, you start in the present and work backward. But in some of the pet schools of the experimentalists the method has degenerated into starting in the present and staying in the present, with only an occasional glance backward.

You cannot teach history that way and learn anything about the revolutionary philosophy of Jefferson or the bourbon viewpoint of Alexander Hamilton; nor can you learn anything about the robber barons of the 1870's, or about John Tyler or Abraham Lincoln or Andrew Johnson or even James Madison—and the reason is that when the Social Studies extremists finish with discussing current events they have no time for the events and the individual philosophies of the men who made America. No wonder, therefore, that not one out of four students could identify two contributions to the nation of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln.

There were a few questions for which, if the test was being given again, Dr. Nevins and myself would want to substitute others, but I can assure you one of them would not be the year of the passage of the Homestead Act (1862) or the minimum price of the public lands ($1.25).

For thirty years prior to the passage of the Homestead Act the whole question was the subject of bitter controversy in the United States. And in the last ten years of the fight millions of people looked forward to the year when Congress would give them a stake in the public lands. The passage of the act was really a tremendous event, and if the Civil War had not overshadowed it, the climax of the great battle in Congress would have been celebrated in succeeding years. And likewise it would be impossible for anyone to know anything about the causes of the great depression of 1837 and the frenzied speculation in the public lands without knowing also the minimum price of the public lands, namely, $1.25 an acre. Indeed, it was the cheapness of the lands that made it possible for bootblacks and coachmen and all sorts of people to speculate in them.

Now I ask you in all fairness: is it too much to say that anyone who knows the nature of the public-land question would know these two simple facts?

And finally we come to Mr. Stone's amazing statement that "Fraser's resignation shows that those who run the *Times* survey are not interested in providing more education." This is, of course, nonsense. I am for more education, and so is Dr. Nevins, and I would

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lay a thousand dollars to one that so also is the New York *Times*. But the thing we are all opposed to is mis-education, and this is a very serious matter. The opposition would like to draw a red herring across the trail and say: "Oh, yes, Fraser is right. We are not teaching American history adequately, but this is due to the low pay of teachers. Bring on the federal Aid-to-Education bill!" Now I am for this bill, but it does not constitute the answer to the present defective methods of teaching American history. And as for "progressive methods of teaching," if it is "progressive" to teach American history with only the most casual mention of Thomas Jefferson or Andrew Jackson (only 12 per cent knew who Jackson was), then I am the damnedest reactionary you ever saw. For I have known the inspiration of Jackson's courage and devotion to the cause of the people!

HUGH RUSSELL FRASER, Chairman
Committee on American History
Washington, April 16

"Grossly Unfair"

Dear Sirs: The article by Mr. Davenport entitled Sikorski's Opposition in your issue of January 30 was grossly unfair and libelous, and I therefore think it would be only fair that you give publicity in the columns of *The Nation* to the following important facts:

1. The *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* is a responsible Hungarian-language publication which has been published continuously for over forty years.

2. In domestic affairs this newspaper has supported consistently the Roosevelt New Deal since 1932.

3. In foreign policy this newspaper has steadfastly opposed Hitlerism and fascism in every form, ever since the menace reared its ugly head. We fought against isolationism even before December 7 and before June 22, 1941. On the Danubian question we have advocated the defeat of Hitler, to be followed by a Democratic Federation, with borders of the individual states based upon the democratic principle of self-determination.

4. The hue and cry against this publication was raised and carried on chiefly by three elements: (a) the Communists, with whom we differed before June 22, because we favored an all-out war against Hitler, whereas they insisted that it was an "imperialist" war; (b) certain Czech propagandists, who prefer to see the reconstruction of the Danubian area on pre-war lines with the restoration of the Little Entente and power politics; (c) a small group of Hungarian Nazis, who disapproved of our vigorous fight against Hitlerism and Hungarian collaboration with the Axis.

I know how difficult it is for you, who cannot read the Hungarian language, to be fully acquainted with the situation affecting the general problem and this newspaper, but in the name of fairness and freedom of the press, I do think no responsible publication, certainly not *The Nation*, has a right to give space to such unfounded accusations as Mr. Davenport levels against the *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava*, which enjoys the respect of a large public and which never transgressed either the laws or the spirit of our great country.

M. KAUFMAN, Publisher
Amerikai Magyar Nepszava
New York, March 11

Mr. Davenport Replies

Dear Sirs: The *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava* may have "supported consistently the Roosevelt New Deal since 1932." This still does not prove that the paper advocated a democratic solution of the Central European problem. I happen to have a concept of democracy in Central Europe which imperatively excludes revisionist programs (which are the essence of the causes of this war) and any whitewashing of Horthy's regime (which is an ally of Hitler's Germany).

I could write pages on this issue, but it would not serve any good purpose. Instead, let me merely call attention to the following typical passages from the *Nepszava:*

1. "It is undeniable that Bethlen was always anti-Nazi, hated the totalitarian systems, and it is unquestionable that Bethlen's dream was always to bring Hungary into a close friendship with the Anglo-Saxon democracies" (February 1, 1943). May I remind the reader that it was Bethlen who made the pact with Mussolini and who lectured in Hitler's Germany? I wonder whether this was bringing Hungary "into close friendship with the Anglo-Saxon democracies."

2. In an article, Is There any Difference? (March 18, 1943), an attempt is made to exculpate the Hungarian government for its anti-Jewish laws. "It isn't exactly the same whether one's relatives are taken to Lublin or only deprived of their livelihood" . . . "Between the Nürnberg laws and the Hungarian anti-Semitic laws the difference is precisely that between unemployment and Hitler's gas chamber." Need I mention the 25,000 Jews who, according to official reports, were sent from Hungary to Poland?

PETER DAVENPORT

[Accepting the *Nepszava's* contention that it is not pro-Nazi, we wish to recognize responsibility, and to express regret, for a typographical error in Mr. Davenport's article as a result of which it might have been implied that the *Nepszava* was an ally of Nazi Germany. Such an accusation was not intended.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

From a Prisoner of War

[*This interesting communication, recently received, was written on a card headed* Poste Italiane, Cartolina Postale, per prigionieri de guerra. *We assume that books sent to the address given by Mr. Williams will be delivered.*]

Dear Sirs: May I impose upon your generosity and that of your readers on behalf of our library? Books on social and political affairs of the last twenty years are sadly lacking, also United States writers of the caliber of Steinbeck and Hemingway, and if you could send me such books they would be welcome indeed. Such books would be a balance between the very light stuff and the technical books we are receiving.

IVOR WILLIAMS,
Bombardier 861060
Campo P. G. 78, Posta Militare 3300
Italy

Where Are the Champions?

Dear Sirs: According to the Washington Merry-Go-Round of April 10, 1943, "Postmaster General Walker's censorship hearings to bar magazines from second-class privileges are absolutely secret. The press cannot attend. For years all hearings of this kind have been open to the public. . . ."

Here is an excellent opportunity for those members of the American press who have been hysterical about the threats to the free press to demonstrate their sincerity. There are many who suspect that this hysteria is a bit of artificial camouflage to conceal their special economic interests. It has been successful for years in protecting them from child-labor legislation. It was used as a weapon against the organization of their reporters. It is now dragged out to preserve their monopoly control of news services.

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If the Patterson-McCormick-Hearst-Gannett-Howard press fails to scream to high heaven about this flagrant violation of the principle of the free press, many more will suspect their sincerity. This will be tragic. This suspicion may well breed cynicism not only about the press but about the ideal itself. If ever America should lose its free press, American newspaper publishers can thank themselves and their own cynical exploitation of the ideal to their special interests.

GEORGE E. AXTELLE

Washington, D. C., April 10

In New York, Too

Dear Sirs: I was immensely interested in Mr. Stone's article on the difficulty of taking a Negro—no matter how distinguished—to dinner in Washington. I admired him very much for resigning from his club. It is a great pity that the *mores* of the South should so completely prevail in our national capital.

But here in New York we are not without culpability. A few nights ago a superb testimonial dinner was given to a great Negro preacher on his retirement from his church and his acceptance of the presidency of a Southern college for Negroes. I tried to get an adequate account of it into two of our most-read papers. I was sent in each case the inch and a half of space which had been dedicated to it, and the refusal to print my letter. I retorted that so far as I could see there was plenty of space in these papers for Negro crimes, but when an occasion arose to do honor to a Negro, the papers were singularly reticent.

The white president of the Union Theological Seminary called the Reverend Lloyd Imes one of the most brilliant scholars who had ever graduated from the seminary; he also reported that the white alumni had elected Dr. Imes as president of their Alumni Association. There were many warm tributes given eloquently and sincerely by both white and black speakers. In the audience were Negroes who had risen to eminence in many fields. At my small table there were two Negro judges, a Negro editor, a Negro woman lawyer, and a Negro social worker. The only white people were myself and my guest, a Czecho-Slovakian editor—a woman.

I count on you to print this. Unfortunately, however, your readers are too liberal to learn anything from it. Such facts need to appear in precisely the places where they never do!

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER

New York, April 10

Why Be Precise?

Dear Sirs: Your heading, "Is It an Error?" over the letter of John W. Follette of New Paltz, New York (April 3), would indicate some editorial doubt as to the correctness of Mr. Follette's criticism of Frank Jones for saying "Liben feels badly" instead of "feels bad." My own reaction is that Mr. Follette is correct and that he has stated the rule with precision.

But after all, why be precise? Language may have been invented to conceal our thoughts, but we use it very largely to communicate them; and in the given case we knew that Mr. Jones was not referring to mutilated fingertips but to that general sense of the body we call feeling. So there was no misunderstanding of what Mr. Jones meant, even if he used an adjective as an adverb.

CHARLES Q. DE FRANCE

Lincoln, Neb., April 4

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MANUEL SEOANE, former leader of the Aprista Party in Peru, is now living in exile in Chile.

MARIANNE MOORE is one of the most distinguished American poets. Her books include "What Are Years," "Observations," and "The Pangolin and Other Verse."

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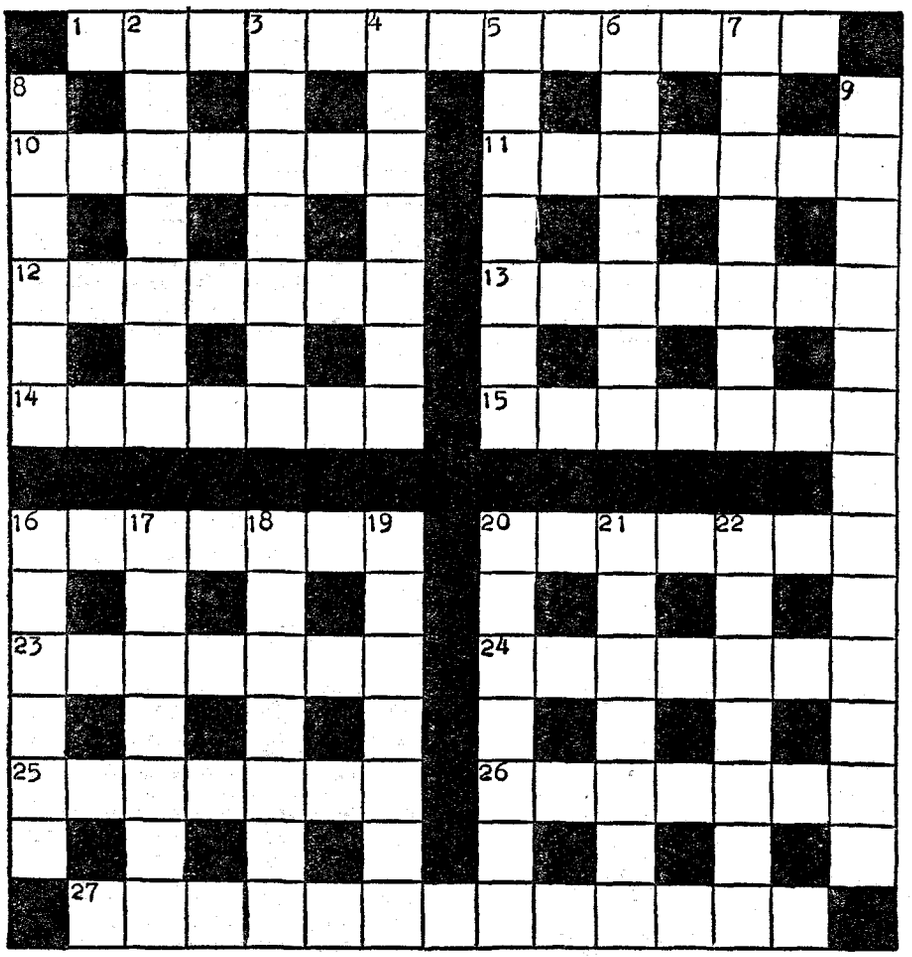
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 11

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Warship of the first rank in the days of sail (four words, 4, 2, 3 and 4)
10 Girl eager for Chinese cloth
11 Might one call his place of business a site for sore eyes?
12 State of the feather-headed ones?
13 Serve white wines, but not red, at this temperature (two words, 3 and 4)
14 This would be the horse for our money if it were ever a starter
15 A Scottish shire set this European composer going
16 A sick pet is hard to convince
20 There's something decidedly Irish in this prominent German
23 Goes out after tea in light fabrics
24 Give the simpleton a milk pudding for some Swiss cheese
25 Italian statesman of World War I
26 They are more advanced than other men — or should be
27 This biblical formula for vengeance would not have worried Argus overmuch (five words, 2, 3, 3, 2 and 3)

DOWN

2 Low fellow with a sneaking look
3 Foolish people perhaps, but it cannot be said today that we want no part of them
4 Irish secret society owing its origination apparently to a Scot in a low district of England
5 Wendell Willkie, for example
6 Sure all these go to the winner
7 Town of East Africa, complete with black magic
8 Sambo describes how he reclined in illness
9 Device known to hunters and politicians — beheaded it's a conversational animal (hyphen, 8 and 5)
17 A Congressional lame duck? (hyphen, 2 and 5)
18 Form of absenteeism of which most of us were guilty in our younger days
19 Like a worn-out glove, maybe (hyphen, 4 and 3)
20 William Tell bumped him off in the Rossini opera
21 Don't try to this a quarrel, said Sheridan; you only spoil it
22 Figures of speech and such like rhetorical decoration

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 10

ACROSS:—1 BUOYANT; 5 WHATNOT; 9 TENDRIL; 10 SPORRAN; 11 OVENS; 12 ELOPEMENT; 14 LIES; 15 TANGENT; 18 AGO; 20 NIS; 21 SHINGLE; 23 FIRM; 26 EXTIRPATE; 28 EMILY; 29 SEESAWS; 30 STIFFEN; 31 ROTATES; 32 WANGLES.

DOWN:—1 BUTTON; 2 OUNCES; 3 ARRESTING; 4 TELLERS; 5 WASHOUT; 6 AROSE; 7 NORSEMEN; 8 TINY TOTS; 13 UGH; 16 NORWEGIAN; 17 NIP; 18 ASSESSOR; 19 OINTMENT; 22 ELAPSES; 23 FRETSAW; 24 FITFUL; 25 HYENAS; 27 RIANT.

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